The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXXIII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1931 No. 3461

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 473
EDITORIALS:
Solidarity or Bankruptcy 476
Agreements in the Dark 477
The Doctors Look at Medicine 477
The Wages of Sin 478
SPEAKING OF REVOLUTION . . . By Hendrik Willem van Loon .. 479
FORCED LABOR IN RUSSIA. By Henry Raymond Mussey 480
A NORTH AMERICAN CUSTOMS UNION. By Alex Skelton 482
PARADOXES OF POPULATION. By R. R. Kuczynski 485
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 487
CORRESPONDENCE 487
FINANCE: FACTS ABOUT THE "BEARS." By S. Palmer Harman 488
BOOKS, ART, MUSIC, DRAMA:
The Bystanders. By Mark Van Doren 490
Through Western Eyes. By Joseph Wood Krutch 490
Mahatma Gandhi's Method. By W. Norman Brown 491
Mr. Faulkner's World. By Lionel Trilling 491
Early Americans. By C. Hartley Grattan 492
Art: The Memorial of Miss Bliss. By Paul Rosenfeld 493
Music: Two Frenchmen Who Know How. By Arthur Mendel 495
Drama: A Rule. By Joseph Wood Krutch 496
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
Jugoslavia's Sham Constitution. By Emil Lengyel 499
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 500

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Subscription Rates: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $6.50; and to foreign ocuntries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: Nation, New York British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising, Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 23 Brunswick Square, London W. C. 1, England.

SENATOR BORAH, in his interview with French newspapermen during Premier Laval's visit in Washington, made several important points: the Versailles treaty should be revised; all debts and reparations should be canceled; attention should be given to the Polish Corridor and to Hungary, disaffected and divided under the peace treaties—all these before there could be any hope for lasting peace. With this it is not possible to quarrel, but when the reporters pressed the Senator for a more explicit elucidation of just what sort of treaty revisions should take place, and in what manner, he resorted to the time-honored subterfuge of statesmen: ". . . you are asking me for something which requires so much detailed information that I could not give an intelligent answer to it. I can state a principle." One can at least say that Senator Borah's principles are on the whole sound, if his explanations are vague and generalized. He has been criticized for giving the interview in the first place, on the ground, as the New York *Times* indignantly declared, that he was "trenching upon the constitutional rights of the President" in so doing. This is nonsense. Whatever Mr. Hoover's constitutional rights are, they do not include monopoly of all opinion or even statement of opinion on the affairs of this government in connection with other governments. There is reason to believe, moreover, that Senator Borah, who had conferred with the President just before M. Laval's visit, was passing on some "unofficial" attitudes which he had every reason to believe official. This brings us to the crux of the situation: Senator Borah, however vague, was several times clearer and more forceful than his chief, who before, during, and after the visit of the French Premier indulged only in beautiful platitudes that got nowhere and gave no inkling of what he really thought about anything.

A DAY OR SO AFTER Senator Borah was urging revision of the Versailles treaty in Washington, Premier Mussolini urged it in Rome. Moreover, he declared that it was unrealistic to talk of "legal equality among nations when on one side they are armed to the teeth and on the other they are condemned to be disarmed." This is a considerable distance from the bellicose and highly nationalistic attitude taken by the Premier a year or so ago, when he promised a great and triumphant future for the Italian state. It indicates that in order to disagree consistently with France, Italy is prepared to talk disarmament, moratoriums, treaty revision, or what you will. But whatever the motive, it should strengthen the nations which are genuinely desirous that the February disarmament conference shall succeed. Mr. Hoover, speaking over the radio to the assembled Methodists in Atlanta, expressed himself—in broad, general terms—as unable to see why, in a time of international crisis like the present, nations persisted in "using incalculable sums in evident dread of those [evils] that may come upon us." If we may translate this, Mr. Hoover means that governments spend too much money in preparation for future wars when all that peoples desire is peace. This is an admirable sentiment with which, as our readers know, we are entirely in agreement. We wish the President had said it more clearly and simply not only to the Methodists but to the Premier of France. If M. Laval would not listen, that is another matter. We should at least have had the flatly expressed conviction of the President of the United States that this nation, without reference to any other nation, should disarm!

THE "RAID" by European banks on our gold supply, which resulted in a loss of nearly $750,000,000 of the metal within a period of five weeks, now shows definite signs of drawing to an end. There are several reasons for this. To begin with, the prompt and calm manner in which our Federal Reserve authorities met every demand has gone far to restore confidence in the dollar to the rather hysterical European markets. Again, the requirements of some of the European banks, in so far as they reflected a real need for reserves, have been met. Perhaps more important than either of these reasons, the free credits which Europe had in this market to enable it to buy the gold for export have been nearing the point of exhaustion. In an editorial article in its issue of October 10 the London *Economist* gives an interesting analysis of the causes which led to the drain on American gold. There was, of course, the general shock to confidence following England's abandonment of the gold standard. A second effect of that abandonment was to

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prevent foreign banks from drawing upon their sterling balances except at a loss, so driving them back on their dollar balances. Another effect was to undermine confidence in the efficacy of the "gold exchange" standard, for when central banks found that the sterling exchange which they had legitimately held as part of their legal reserve had lost part of its value, they hastened to turn their other balances into gold. M. Laval, at the close of his conversations with Mr. Hoover, "made known that steps had been taken to stop the flow of gold from New York to France," and managed to give the impression, at least to some of the Washington correspondents, that France had made a generous move to restore confidence in the dollar—which is not true. Indeed, as the London *Economist* hints, the demand for gold from New York reflected less a lack of confidence in the dollar than a lack of confidence among the French banks in their own power to meet the panicky demands of customers out of their home resources.

THE ORGANIZATION of the new National Credit Corporation has already done a great deal to restore confidence. This is reflected in an average advance of nearly 25 per cent in stock prices in the last few weeks, and in the advance of cotton and wheat prices by a similar percentage from their low figures this year. The task that the new corporation is undertaking, however, should be left to that corporation, and Senator Glass is thoroughly justified in opposing the movement, supported by the President in his announcement of the credit corporation, to "broaden" the eligibility provision of the Federal Reserve Act. Senator Glass justly characterizes this movement as merely "another attempt . . . to clutter up the Federal Reserve banks of the country with speculative securities and thus amplify the opportunities of stock and bond operators to ply their trade and to disturb the business of the country periodically as a result of their excesses."

WILL JAPAN BOW to the expressed will of the League of Nations Council and withdraw its troops from Chinese territory in Manchuria before November 16? If it refuses to do so and continues to defy the Council, what action will the League take to compel obedience? Here the issue is clearly drawn. The League must act. Having asserted its authority, that is, the authority of the law of nations, it cannot now back down. To do so would leave the Japanese free to follow their own inclinations in dealing with the Manchurian controversy; Japan would be a law unto itself, and the principle upon which the League is founded would be defeated. Unfortunately, the Council has adjourned until November 16, and so has left to the last possible moment the admittedly disagreeable task of facing this issue which is so important to the continued existence of the League. Meanwhile the Manchurian situation has not been improving. The responsible government, that of Chang Hsueh-liang, having been ousted by the Japanese, numerous "independence" movements have arisen to add to the general confusion. It is this confusion that Tokio uses as an excuse for the retention of its troops in Manchuria. Battles between Japanese soldiers and various Chinese forces are reported almost daily. Any one of these battles might quickly lead to that open warfare which Geneva and Washington have been trying to prevent. But while the situation increases in gravity, both Washington and Geneva appear willing to let the Manchurian crisis take care of itself until the Council reconvenes in mid-November.

WHETHER ECONOMIC SANCTIONS can successfully be applied by the United States and other leading Powers when war is threatened in any quarter of the globe will be the subject of a study to be made by a committee of prominent business men, bankers, and lawyers called together by Nicholas Murray Butler. The study was proposed by Evans Clark on behalf of the trustees of the Twentieth Century Fund, of which he is director, and will be financed by that organization. In announcing the formation of the Committee on Economic Sanctions, President Butler called attention to the responsibility the United States had assumed by sponsoring the Kellogg Pact. He declared that the United States would be faced "with a critical question of national policy" should any country resort to war in defiance of this agreement, and he hoped therefore that the committee could help work out a "public definition of policy" which would let the world know in advance precisely what economic action the United States would take in event of war. The existence of a clearly defined policy, this announcement said, might serve as security against aggressive warfare. We wish the committee all possible success. If it succeeds in its task, it will have performed a service of tremendous value to the peace movement. It is one thing to speak of bringing economic pressure against an aggressor nation in time of war, but the trick lies in determining just what constitutes aggression.

TWO MORE EXAMPLES of the sort of justice which many States seem to reserve especially for Negroes have lately come to light. In Elberton, Georgia, John Downer, Negro, is now waiting to learn whether the higher courts will save him from the death sentence passed upon him for the alleged rape of a young white woman. He was tried—after several attempts had been made to lynch him—in an atmosphere of mob hysteria. Downer was arrested because his shoes happened to fit certain footprints found near the scene of the crime. After his arrest martial law was declared in Elberton to save him from one kind of lynch justice. During the trial 200 national guardsmen were needed to protect him from the mob outside the courthouse. Downer was refused a change of venue, although it was apparent that the community was violently prejudiced against him. The jury was drawn from among the white people of this community, all persons known to have opposed the earlier efforts of the mob to lynch Downer being excused from service. No evidence was offered to connect him with the assault, if we except the positive but unsupported identification of him by the victim. Even the young woman's male companion, who according to his own testimony sat idly by while the supposed attack was taking place, admitted he was not sure that Downer was the assailant. Witnesses whose testimony might have helped the Negro establish an alibi later said they had been afraid to appear in court. The inevitable verdict was death. More recently Orphan Jones, sixty-year-old Negro, was arrested in connection with the murder of a family of four persons near Berlin, Maryland. He was held incomunicado for eight days before an International Labor Defense representative was permitted to interview him. In

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the meantime he had been shifted from one jail to another, and was as a final shift brought back to Snow Hill, where he was indicted without benefit of counsel. Jones, the International Labor Defense states, "says that he was blackjacked and beaten in jail, and told that if he did not confess he would be killed. He was forced to sign a confession which he could not read because his glasses were taken away. He denied the murders and told our attorneys that the confessions were extorted from him by torture and third degree."

THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH must not be permitted to interfere with the functioning of yellow-dog contracts in Pennsylvania. That, in effect, was the decision reached by the State Supreme Court in the case of the Kraemer Hosiery Company versus Louis F. Budenz. But the trial brought forth, in the dissenting opinion of Justice George W. Maxey, one of the most brilliant arguments in defense of free speech lately delivered in an American court. The company had obtained an order restraining the Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers and certain individuals, including Budenz, a well-known labor writer and organizer, from inducing employees "by any means whatsoever" to break their anti-union contracts with the company. Budenz alone appealed, but the Supreme Court, with the exception of Maxey, upheld the injunction. In his minority opinion Justice Maxey said: "I think Budenz's right to say and publish what he did and to do what he did is imbedded in the fundamental law of both the State and the nation. The decree appealed from is in effect an injunction against Budenz's ideas, not against his acts, for not a single unlawful act did or could the court below find against him. . . . Ideas are not subject to injunction. . . . It is opposed to progress and contrary to the spirit of our institutions to intrust any official with the arbitrary power to say what ideas shall be liberated and what ideas shall be suppressed."

SIMPLY UPON THE COMPLAINT of a Roman Catholic clergyman a professor of English at Louisiana State University has been summarily deprived of his post. The trustees of the school made no effort to hear Dr. John Earle Uhler before they dismissed him, nor did they inquire into the merits of the complaint brought against him by the Right Reverend F. L. Gassler, pastor of St. Joseph's Church in Baton Rouge. Professor Uhler's crime consisted of the writing of a novel, "Cane Juice," in which is depicted in straightforward manner the experiences of a Catholic student at the university. Father Gassler took strong exception to the book, declaring it compromised the young women of the State. His criticism of the novel went not only to the university authorities, but was mimeographed and sent to numerous prominent citizens of Louisiana, whose population is largely Catholic. Despite the protests of the American Civil Liberties Union, and of scores of individuals who are staunch defenders of academic freedom, and although Dr. Uhler's contract with the university has still a year to run, he was removed from the faculty without trial or hearing. The Civil Liberties Union is now planning to seek justice for the dismissed professor through the courts. It has announced that "we are not concerned with the merits of the controversy. We are concerned only with the issue of academic freedom involved in the right of any professor to publish his views in any form he desires, and at the same time to remain secure in his job. Only that liberty of thought and action can give security and dignity to university teaching."

ARTHUR SCHNITZLER has just died in Vienna at the age of sixty-nine. Perhaps many of those who read his more recently translated novels did not quite realize how long he had been an established figure in European literature, or how varied his production had been, but he was one of the leaders of the "new drama" as far back as the nineties, and such somber plays as "The Lonesome Way" and "Professor Bernhardi" had wide fame before he became popular in America—partly as a result of the scandals occasioned by "The Affairs of Anatol" and the variously translated "Reigen." Perhaps, also, a considerable number of his American readers failed properly to understand his tone. He was thoroughly Viennese and he treated with a light, half-sentimental touch themes which seemed scandalous only because American readers did not, like him, take them as a matter of course. Thus "The Affairs of Anatol" is merely sentimental comedy and "Casanova's Homecoming" (which aroused the ire of the Society for the Suppression of Vice) is a gravely beautiful tale which deals with the same theme as his early play "The Lonesome Road"—namely, the declining days of a gallant who realizes that gallantry will soon be for him a thing of the past. Perhaps, indeed, "Casanova's Homecoming" will ultimately be regarded as his best as well as his most characteristic work. Few modern tales have a more beautifully sustained charm.

A LARGE CROWD OF NOTABLES, among whom Mayor Walker was not, and some thirty or forty thousand of the public attended the opening of the George Washington Bridge over the Hudson River on October 24. At about 10 p. m. of the same day cars began to line up for the opening to traffic, which was scheduled for Sunday at 5 a. m., and in the first day 56,312 cars, 100,000 pedestrians, and one man on a horse made the stream of travel between New York and New Jersey. After a while the new bridge, which had for four years while it was building been known as the Hudson River bridge and will probably continue to be, will no longer be a novelty. The stream of travel, however, will not stop; and the bridge will not cease being one of the dominating beauties of New York's uptown skyline. Its graceful, slender arcs hang lightly over the water of the river; its piers rise firmly on either shore. By some fortunate chance, the original plan of having them covered with stone was abandoned, and they emerge in their steel mystery and lightness, a monument to the machine age. During the opening ceremonies, which were as long-drawn-out as such functions usually are, various statistics were announced: the bridge was so-and-so high, and wide, and strong; it was finished eight months ahead of time; it cost no more than the estimate of $60,000,000; fourteen men were killed building it; Mr. O. H. Ammann, chief engineer, modestly disclaimed any special credit and named everybody from Cass Gilbert, the architect, to the last cat-walker as almost equally responsible. The most astonishing fact of all was, however, that on the day the bridge was opened to traffic more than 50,000 cars, or a heavy Sunday travel, passed through the Holland Tunnel. There is no end or limit to the numbers of these New Yorkers.

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Solidarity or Bankruptcy

ALL in all, the decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission on the application of the railroads for a flat increase of 15 per cent in freight rates seems as wise and well considered as any the commission could have made at this time. It is quite clear that the original request of the railroads was unsound. When the price that nearly every other great industry is getting for its product has fallen violently, it is illogical that the price of the railroads' product —transportation—should be raised. Merely for the railroad freight-rate level to remain as it is, indeed, has much the same effect that an increase in rates ordinarily would have. If a year or two ago the freight rate on some particular commodity averaged 10 per cent of the wholesale price of that commodity, then, if the commodity has fallen to half its former price, the freight rate now averages 20 per cent of its wholesale price. A general rise in freight rates at this time, therefore, would not only have been illogical, but would probably have failed even to produce the result that the railroad executives themselves hoped from it. The higher rates in too many instances would have been more than the traffic could bear; and the result would have been either an absolute shrinkage of that traffic or the deflection of much of it to trucks and waterways.

Yet the commission found itself confronted both by a grave problem of revenues and a grave problem in public psychology. The net operating income of the Class I railroads in the first eight months of the present year fell 37 per cent below that of the corresponding period in 1930, itself a poor year. So far in the present year it has been estimated that the railroads as a whole have earned only 2 per cent on their total "invested capital." Even this situation would not be so grave if the burden of the depression were shared equally by all the railroads. It is not merely, however, that scores of Class I railroads are not now earning their fixed charges; in the first eight months of the year thirty-five of them actually failed to earn their operating expenses.

The commission met this situation in probably the most sensible manner that it could be met. If a flat rise in freight rates was economically unwarranted, a gesture from the commission of some kind was absolutely necessary; first, for its immediate psychological effect, to prevent further demoralization in the security markets and to insure confidence in the savings banks and insurance companies that hold a high percentage of railroad bonds, and, secondly, for its later effect in forestalling railroad receiverships. Instead of the 15 per cent increase asked for, which the railroad executives estimated—mistakenly, in the commission's opinion—would bring in $400,000,000 to $500,000,000 additional revenue, the commission has offered increases in specific rates—on products which it believes will be relatively able to stand the increase—to bring in an estimated additional revenue of from $100,000,000 to $125,000,000. But these rate increases are to become effective only if and when the railroads agree among themselves to put the additional revenues that the rates bring in into a common pool, the proceeds of which are to be distributed among the roads that "fail to earn their interest charges, in proportion to their deficiencies." In short, what the commission has done has been to grant an increase only about one-fourth as great as that which the railroads asked, but to insist that the proceeds from that increase be mobilized at the points where they are really needed. It is trying to compel the railroads to cooperate.

The responsibility for the railroads' fate has thus been placed squarely upon the shoulders of the railroad executives. They "must hang together or hang separately." The first response of the executives has been reassuringly prompt. But the "strong roads"—those which will have to contribute to the pool instead of receiving from it—are naturally not enthusiastic for the plan. Some of the railroad executives have expressed the opinion that even if they agreed to turn their additional revenues over to the pool, they would face stockholders' suits questioning the legality of their "giving" this money away. This objection does not appear to be a substantial one. It may be doubted whether one can be said to "give away" income which one does not get in the first place unless one has already agreed to give it away. Nor did the commission specifically assert that the distributed sums were to be given to the "weak" roads as an outright gift. It should not be difficult for those who insist that they can accept the plan only if the sums are "loaned," to compromise under an arrangement by which, let us say, the sums would be loaned without interest, and for no definite maturity, and would form a lien to come after all other fixed charges, but would have to be repaid by any railroad before that road resumed or continued any dividends on its preferred or common stock. What is essential is that the roads show their willingness to unite in a common effort.

There remains the question of the longer prospect. Though there may be a partial recovery, it becomes increasingly probable that the drop in world price levels is not only a major decline but may be of long duration. That being so, it is obvious that railroad freight rates not only cannot be substantially raised, but must themselves face the ultimate prospect of some reduction to bring them into conformity with the new price level. It is probable, therefore, that the railroads will soon become convinced that their salvation lies not in an increase in rates but in a reduction in expenses, such as has been going on in other industries. As more than half of all the operating expenses of the railroads go out directly in the form of wages, the executives may naturally be expected to turn to the hope that the railway brotherhoods will accept a reduction in wage rates. They will argue, no doubt, that an adjustment of this sort has already occurred in most other industries, and that an average reduction of 10 per cent in railroad wage rates would still leave "real" wage rates—that is, wage rates in terms of cost of living—as high as they were in 1929. But the executives will get very little hearing for these arguments, either from the railway unions or the general public, unless they come as a very last resort and not as a first one. Certainly such an argument will not be heeded if the roads reject the commission's present request that they act together. The immediate choice for the roads is solidarity or a string of bankruptcies.

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Agreements in the Dark

WE have been left largely in the dark as to the immediate net results of Premier Laval's visit to Washington. True, the exchange of views that took place between the heads of the American and French governments was in itself of immense importance and doubtless will prove of value in the future. It may be presumed that Washington and Paris now know precisely where each stands with regard to the more pressing international problems of the day. This should certainly help to prevent conflicts between the two governments like that which followed Mr. Hoover's moratorium proposal of June 20, which so seriously impaired the psychological value of that proposal. Viewed in this light the Washington conversations have been all to the good, and so we are happy to note, in the words of Mark Sullivan, that President Hoover and Premier Laval "have agreed so to manage their respective steps having to do with the economic stability of the world as to avoid being at cross-purposes."

But if Mr. Hoover and M. Laval have come to some such understanding, the American and French people have not yet been informed of its details or implications. The joint statement issued at the White House after the conversations were concluded tells almost exactly nothing. It simply says that "real progress" was made by Mr. Hoover and M. Laval in canvassing "the economic situation in the world, the trends in international relations bearing upon it, problems of the forthcoming conference for limitation and reduction of armaments, the effect of the depression on payments under intergovernmental debts, the stabilization of international exchanges, and other financial and economic subjects." But what the "real progress" consisted of is not set forth. By far the most significant section of the statement is that dealing with war debts and reparations, although here again the vagueness of the language used makes it difficult to draw positive conclusions. The initiative in making further adjustments in intergovernmental obligations that "may be necessary covering the period of business depression," the statement declares, "should be taken at an early date by the European Powers principally concerned within the framework of the agreements existing prior to July 1, 1931." This clearly suggests a major victory for M. Laval and the Young Plan. Mr. Hoover has apparently pledged himself to refrain from seeking an extension of the war debts and reparations moratorium, although he implied in his statement of October 7 that an agreement for an extension of the moratorium would be the chief object of his conversations with Premier Laval. France has long contended that any adjustment in reparations must be undertaken in accordance with the Young Plan. To this President Hoover has now quite obviously agreed.

If we take the Hoover-Laval statement at its face value, and there is no apparent reason for not doing so, the relation of armaments and of trade barriers to the world's economic predicament was either not discussed or else no agreement was reached. It is likely that the latter is nearer the truth, for in their statement Mr. Hoover and M. Laval say specifically that it was "not the purpose of either of us to engage in commitments binding our governments, but rather, through developments of fact, to enable each country to act more effectively in its own field." At the same time it is highly unlikely that the heads of the two governments, in their endeavor to canvass the whole economic field, should have overlooked the direct bearing of huge arms expenditures and tariff walls upon the present economic depression.

Finally, in view of the statement that Mr. Hoover and M. Laval have undertaken no commitments "binding our governments," we cannot understand the positive assertion by the Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* that the "practical outcome" of the White House conversations "was an agreement on certain measures designed to assist the world toward its recovery from economic and financial depression," and that the Hoover-Laval communiqué "wholly failed to mention other understandings which resulted from the White House conference." The *Times* correspondent went so far as to enumerate and describe the various points of these understandings. Perhaps the *Times* correspondent has been misinformed, for we hesitate to believe that President Hoover has bound the United States government to a secret course of action. This point must be immediately cleared up lest the charge that secret understandings have been entered into by Mr. Hoover and M. Laval undo whatever good we may expect to result from their conversations.

The Doctors Look at Medicine

STATE control of medicine came in for a generous share of dispraise at the recent congress of the American College of Surgeons in New York City. Dr. C. Jeff Miller, retiring president of the organization, in the opening address discussed the much-mooted question of the cost of medical care. He enumerated the various alternatives to the unorganized individualism now prevailing in the profession: group medicine, in which a group of specialists undertake, for a fixed annual fee, to give any care, including hospitalization, that a given patient may require; health insurance; the great public clinics like those maintained at Johns Hopkins and Cornell University; and state-controlled medicine. The clinics, according to Dr. Miller, destroyed the personal relation between doctor and patient; the health insurance smacked of paternalism; control by the state was, according to report, far from satisfactory in Russia, and was almost certain to put the profession at the mercy of politics and to develop an unscrupulous and incompetent personnel. Dr. Charles Mayo, in discussing state medicine, made the same point.

These criticisms, of course, are not new, nor do they answer the grave problem that confronts persons of moderate means or less when they find themselves in need of a physician. Hospital statistics show that in the last year municipally owned, free hospitals have been overtaxed by the demands for beds, and private hospitals have in more than one case found themselves on the edge of bankruptcy. It cannot be denied that hospitalization always costs more than the average patient can easily pay. Dr. Miller replies by the somewhat irrelevant complaint that the doctor seems to be

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the last person whose bill is paid and that any doctor who wished to divulge professional secrets could publish a list of debtors that would astonish the world—being composed of persons who were popularly believed to be well able to settle their accounts. It may be that there is a fairly widespread belief that doctors are rich and don't need their money, or that they can wait for what they demand from folks of modest means because they make it up on their wealthy patients. This superstition is doubtless as ill founded as most popular beliefs. Two facts remain: one is that in large cities doctors are all too likely to give an impression of affluence by the presence of lady doorkeepers, white-gowned secretaries, nurses, and assistants caring for their offices; the other is that whether the fees are honestly earned or no—and in most cases one may believe that they are—medicine costs too much for the person of moderate income. A doctor who charges $10 a visit per child for two children in the same family seen in the same hour need not be surprised if he is not called often; a specialist who will not consult for less than $50 is a luxury to all but the high-income groups. And these are among the more moderate charges. If the medical profession is so organized that it cannot afford to sell its services for smaller fees, then there must be a change, of one sort or another. The only layman speaking at the surgeon's conference, President Angell of Yale, advanced this point of view very strongly:

> Of one thing we can be sure [he said] and that is that in the long run, by hook or crook, society will command competent medical and nursing service, adequate in amount to meet the needs of everyone. If it cannot secure this as the result of measures voluntarily devised and perfected by the profession and its interested friends, it will look to other agencies, and notably to the government, to produce the desired results. With political methods and conditions what they are now in the United States, it is difficult to contemplate such a solution without the gravest misgivings.

In Boston the first year of the Baker Memorial Hospital for patients of small incomes has just been completed. Operated on the theory that a self-supporting, middle-price hospital is sounder than an endowed institution that gives the patient a sort of charity, the Baker Memorial reported a deficit of 16.9 per cent the first year, with promises of ultimately coming out even. Costs per patient averaged $173.47, of which the hospital charges amounted to $94.46, doctors' fees, $59.54, and special nursing fees, $19.47; the average income of patients was estimated at $2,507; the average stay of the patient in the hospital was 13.4 days. It will be seen that this cost is far below the ordinary charge in private hospitals. Baker Memorial is an adjunct of Massachusetts General Hospital, one of the most highly rated institutions in the country. Its staff is drawn only from the staff of Massachusetts General, and fees for physicians attending are determined by the hospital and not by the individual doctor, in no case exceeding $150, no matter how long the patient remains or what services he requires. It is worth while to consider this experiment at some length because it seems to indicate that a moderately priced institution can give entirely adequate care to patients of small means and still not have recourse to large private endowment. It is of course only a partial answer to the problem as a whole, but for those doctors who are so reluctant to consider any form of centralized control, it may offer a temporary working solution.

The Wages of Sin

IT has been commonly predicted that the present depression would surely produce that spiritual awakening which failed to materialize after the Great War. It was rather generally supposed that persons deprived of their gin by economic necessity would, in consequence, spend quiet evenings at home with a good book, and literature, we were told, would certainly flourish as night clubs declined. But the only observable effect upon the book business has been the regular appearance on best-seller lists of collections of "boners" and books by such spiritual leaders as Joe Cook, while the most obvious effect upon the theater has been the appearance of new burlesque houses up and down Broadway. For years only one theater devoted to this form of entertainment was operated in the Times Square district, but since the Spiritual Awakening took place, these temples have multiplied prodigiously and those whose minds have been turned away from material things can now drop in upon a stimulating ceremony almost any hour of the day or night.

It is, however, less with the moral than with the economic aspect of the situation that we are concerned and we shall reprint a paragraph from *Variety* which we believe needs no comment beyond the explanation to the uninitiated that, in the technical language of the business, a "stripper" is a chorus girl who takes off most of her clothes during the course of her act and that a "teaser number" is one in which such a "stripper" removes her raiment piece by piece in compliance with the noisy demands of the audience eager to see further beauties revealed.

> The longest and hardest job in the theater is now the 74-hour, $25-a-week runway grind for girls at the Central, New York. They average 12 hours in the theater Fridays and Saturdays and 10 hours daily the rest of the week, including Sundays. House plays Minsky's combination stock and Columbia Burlesque wheel shows. At five and six shows a day the girls are on the stage or runway more than 220 times every week for the same $25. Theater is one of the New York Minsky burlecue houses at which those of the chorus who "strip" in "teaser" numbers were payed $2 extra weekly for the take off. That gave each stripping girl an average of slightly over five cents for each strip. But that extra income is now cut and the rate is $25 straight.

We are also informed that at least one New York burlesque house is now employing what is known as the "old number-one light system"—which means that a light just over the orchestra leader's stand is flashed on by the ticket-taker whenever a suspicious-looking person enters the theater, and serves as a warning to the performers to omit the more dangerously exuberant portions of their dialogue or pantomime. Moreover, and in case any of our readers wonder just how these theaters manage to keep open on Sunday when all legitimate theaters are closed, we beg to inform them that Mr. Minsky and his twenty-five-dollar-a-week "strippers" call their performance a "sacred concert" on the first day of every week.

But it is, we repeat, the economic aspect of the question which interests us most. Verily the wages of sin have become—as the old joke has it—"almost nothing at all."

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Speaking of Revolution . . .

By HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON

THE Chinese have always been a curious people and they are possessed of some very queer old customs. Do you remember the property man of the Chinese theater which flourished twenty years ago? I mean the invisible Property Man who walked through every scene, dressed in an old black gown and carelessly smoking a cigarette while carrying mountains and valleys and babbling brooks and warships and placing them wherever they were needed. Just before the heroine got stabbed by the villain he rushed upon the stage with a pillow to soften the lady's fall. And when in the next act the heroine, now happily recovered from her mortal wounds, was crossing the Yellow River on cakes of ice, he was present with the cakes of ice, and when her advent on the other side was celebrated by a clap of thunder, he was there with the thunder to shout "boom . . . boomety, boom" at exactly the right moment.

He was visible yet ever invisible, for tradition insisted upon his being invisible and therefore he was invisible, although he might weigh 300 pounds and have a heavy cold which made him sneeze a dozen times through every love scene.

The managers of the Greatest Show on Earth seem to have chosen the present Russian government to act as their Invisible Property Man. Officially they refuse to believe that there is such a thing as a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. As far as Washington is concerned, official Russia simply does not exist. President Hoover may have read Comrade Stalin's name in the public prints but when the Terrible Georgian is mentioned in his presence, he looks absent-mindedly out of the window and says "Stalin? Stalin? Never heard of him before!" And although the State Department is as industrious as a beehive, there never is a letter addressed to the Kremlin, Moscow, among those 245,837 heavy mail-pouches that leave once a week bound upon their errands of wisdom and mercy.

The Invisible Property Man, however, seems completely unaware of all this. He continues to stage-manage things as if he were part of the show. Our policy may be necessary and may be dictated by the demands of the hour (and of civilization), but in the end it is bound to lead up to all sorts of uncomfortable complications. For further details read any one of our better-class newspapers.

There is some trouble, so it appears, about the exact status of a certain country called Manchuria. Japan wants that country and China wants it or has it and the two nations threaten to go to war with each other on account of this distant and mysterious territory. The nearest, though by no means dearest, neighbor of Manchuria is another country called Russia. And whatever Japan and China do in regard to Manchuria will be followed with profound interest by the rulers of the ancient Muscovite empire. Japan knows this and China knows this and all the world knows this, but we ourselves do not know it. Our newspapers know it and our newspaper-reading public knows it. But our government does not know it. It refuses to see the Invisible Property Man. Even when he drags a few million men across the stage and rattles loudly with his guns, Washington fails to notice him. Russia is and remains the Invisible Property Man of the great new Chinese comedy, entitled "He Who Remains Unseen."

Once upon a time there was a certain Mr. Kellogg, an honorable corporation lawyer by profession and a benefactor of mankind by choice. Mr. Kellogg devised a sort of "safety first" formula for international complications that might develop into open hostilities. And we were proud, very proud of "our" Mr. Kellogg, and told the world that he was the Visible Expression of our own love for humanity. Until the moment when the Russians heard of him, too, and shouted "bravo" and hastened to join the Kellogg Pact. Then we found ourselves in great difficulties. For how could we negotiate with a government which did not exist and how could we receive letters from a Secretary of State who did not exist and how could we ever hope to read letters written on paper which had no tangible reality? Then, someone in the State Department who had been to Chinatown in the days of his youth bethought himself of the famous expedient of the Invisible Property Man. Stalin was hastily appointed to be our own Invisible Property Man. He can come and go at will, he can do whatever he pleases, he can write letters and send protests and make war or peace but we will just pretend that he is not there. He is the stage manager responsible for the whole of the performance but he must remain invisible even when he steps on our toes. I suppose that if we should go to war with Russia *(Unberufen!)* we would begin our declaration of hostilities "To whom it may concern . . ." For like the Almighty, Stalin is supposed to be omnipresent yet without any definite address. I have patiently looked through the chronicles of history to find a parallel case. I have found none, and so at last there is something new under the sun. The international comedy of errors has now been provided with an Invisible Property Man.

P. S.—I wrote this ten days before the supposed date of appearance. Then it looked as if Russia were going to be the Property Man of the Manchurian drama. Ten minutes after I had dropped this little essay carefully into the mail-chute, the evening papers appeared telling us that there was going to be no war and that Mr. Stimson was pleased. The next morning the Japanese and the Chinese were shooting at each other and Russia was "moving troops" and Mr. Stimson was sad. In the evening he was hopeful. Next morning he was still hopeful. Next afternoon he was apprehensive. I shall never again write about anything more recent than the second coming of Napoleon.

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Forced Labor in Russia

By HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

Stalingrad, September 24

THERE is forced labor in Russia—plenty of it. I have seen it myself in Moscow, with officials, contrary to the tradition of their craft, working like slaves at their desks all day and spending all night in conferences and meetings. I have seen it in factories, where union groups and shop committees are getting together after working hours and demanding savagely of one another why they are not meeting the impossibilities of the Five-Year Plan in Four, or in two and a half. I have seen it in the construction of the great new automobile works at Nijni-Novgorod, where the *sabotniks,* brought in by hundreds and by thousands each morning in freight cars, march singing to different points along the miles of unfilled trenches that carry water, gas, and electric equipment for the plant and the workers' city of Autostroy's latest pride, and spend their rest day working—probably not too hard, but working, none the less, without pay—shoveling earth to help finish the job, if possible, by November 1 according to schedule. I have seen it on the same job among the American engineers supervising the whole gigantic undertaking. They started seventeen months ago literally with nothing but a swamp, with no materials, no equipment, no labor, nothing but endless resourcefulness and iron determination; today they are racing down the stretch, with 30,000 construction workers behind them, hoping to hit the tape before the red November days. The Russia I have seen during the past three weeks appears to be steaming under forced draft with the safety valve tied down, and men are driven by some inner force to the doing of Herculean labors in town and country alike. I do not mean that everybody in the country is working furiously, for of course that is not true, but many men in all walks of life are, and no one watching them can doubt that there is forced labor in Russia.

And my Communist acquaintances tell me that there is forced labor among the kulaks. Something like half a million of them, or two and a half million, perhaps, if you count their families—nobody seems to know the exact number—have been exiled, I am told, for counter-revolutionary activity like opposition to the collective farms. After being deprived of their property, they are banished to various parts of the country—not to the frozen North, my informants state—where there is plenty of good farming land available. As soon as they have houses ready, their families join them. They are under sentence of exile; they get their subsistence, and the rest of their product belongs to the government. If at the end of five years they have been good workers and if they appear to be cured of their sinful bourgeois psychology, then they will be restored to full civil and economic rights. But for the present, it is explained to me, it is highly important that, with their exploiting point of view, they be not allowed to work in factories, shops, or collectives because of their possible bad influence on the workers. Perhaps twice as many kulaks as are in exile still work their own land under a system of "individual taxation" under which the government levies on each of them an exaction as heavy as it is believed he can meet, leaving him subsistence for himself and his family. This levy met, the rest of the product, be it much or little, belongs to him. It is harsh and cruel, like so many other Russian arrangements, and nobody that I have met denies that it is forced labor, just like that of any other persons under sentence. What they do deny is that it has any other purpose except to push forward the process of socializing agriculture as well as industry.

If anybody wants to pick up a bargain in forced labor, however, or any other kind of labor, I should advise him not to look for it in Russia just now, as far as I have seen it; for it is certainly a seller's market in labor if ever there was one. Everywhere I have been there is going up a tremendous call for more labor: scientists, technicians, organizers, managers, accountants, clerks, typists, mechanics of every degree of skill and lack of it, construction workers (millions of them, I should think), unskilled laborers. Each task done only cries for more work to be done. The workers on the collective farms are already being employed in mines and factories during the winter, and next year it is expected that 2,000,000 housewives, freed from domestic duties, will be drawn into industrial production. Trade unions are eagerly studying ways of increasing the productiveness of their members. Shop committees and workers' organizations of every kind within the factory are criticizing one another for not being up to schedule and are hunting for ways of speeding up production. Newspapers and street signs and wall boards are full of figures showing the competition of different factories and departments within them in increasing output, and now they are beginning to compare their success in keeping down costs. Social competition, which first began to be employed on a large scale in 1929, seems to have seized the imagination of the workers; at least it has seized all the agencies of publicity, till one might think that no Russian worker at present cared for anything so much as that his factory should outstrip the others in the race for production. I do not mean that production is large or that everybody is doing his best; only that there appears to be an astonishingly widespread and intense interest in increasing it.

I saw it at work in the case of the grumbling red-bearded old peasant in his ragged clothes and straw sandals that I met on the Volga boat—one of the hundreds of men, women, and children stowed in the fourth class among the boxes and barrels and crates and endless sacks of grain and potatoes that fill the space below decks in these great shallow craft. Harvest over, the old fellow had taken ship sixty or seventy miles up the river to a new construction job where he heard that wages were high and conditions good. Before he got there he met friends who told him that a good dinner at forty kopecks was the only meal served on the job, that other prices were high, and that things generally were not so rosy as they had been painted to him. Without even seeing the job, he took the next boat back home, grumbling about the badness of the times, declaring the collective in his region to be a failure, and generally exercising all the rights of a Soviet citizen.

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I left the rags and crowding and smell below decks and went up to the delightful freshness and broad outlook of the first-class cabin. A copy of *Izvestia* of September 19 lay on the table. (By the way, *Pravda,* with a circulation of 2,400,000, and *Izvestia,* the official organ, whose circulation is said to be some 400,000 less than that of the other great Russian daily, are now distributed by airplane from Moscow and reprinted so as to be available the same or the following day for the vast majority of the people of the Soviet Union.) *Izvestia* contained a decree of the Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars, dated September 13, permitting all enterprises, offices, and organizations of social sectors henceforth to hire workers and employees both in towns and in the country directly, without application to the labor exchanges, and directing the People's Commissariat of Labor to prepare and submit to the Council of People's Commissars the draft of a law embodying this principle as a permanent policy. So here, along with the present mad enthusiasm for piece work, I had apparently stumbled on another of Russia's big steps in the wild rush "back to capitalism"; for here was Russia practically scrapping its labor exchanges at the very moment when the capitalistic states are turning their attention to those institutions.

I looked at the strange Russian characters at the bottom of the same page—a half-page of advertisements, a dozen of them Help Wanted. It was practically a government paper, published by a government that prohibited the hiring of workers except through the labor exchanges, and here it was printing, as it had been doing for weeks, the advertisements of big government organizations trying to get workers directly by means of such advertising, and the labor exchanges might go hang! I began to understand that decree. I looked a little farther, with the help of my translator. The Academy of Science of the U. S. S. R., I observe, is advertising for twenty-four professors, thirteen in technical subjects, two in physics, one in chemistry, two in biology, two in history, one in social economics, one in philosophy, two in Oriental studies. The Bronner Medical University wants a professor of gynecology. The Forest Institute in Vorenzh needs a professor who specializes in local conditions of timber growing, and discreetly suggests that it may pay more than the usual salary. The Butter Trust wants agricultural specialists, zootechnicians, veterinary surgeons, and building workers of all kinds. The pharmaceutical section of the Chemical Trust proclaims its need for economists, credit men, and specially qualified bookkeepers. The Bridge Building Institute calls for typists and specialists in metals. The Middle Asia Metal Combinat, the Nijni-Novgorod Automobile Works and six other plants belonging to Autostroy (the automobile works under construction), the shock construction unit in Sverdlovsk—shock construction is the most important construction, and therefore workers there get better food and living conditions—and Grainstroy (which builds elevators and similar structures), not to speak of two or three other enterprises, must have bookkeepers and accountants without delay. Finally, the first Russian typewriter factory puts in its plea for production engineers, time-study men, construction workers, an engineer-economist, and managers for its instrument department, its construction bureau, and its department of labor economics, intimating that wages will be according to personal agreement—fix your own price!—and in a final despairing line giving not only its telephone number but even the numbers of trams and buses to get to the plant.

The situation today in its outlines appears to be simplicity itself, though unsuspected complexities often underlie simple situations. But the government, by the huge industrialization program embodied in the Five-Year Plan, has created an insatiable demand for labor, and the people, by their assent to that plan and their apparently enthusiastic support of it, have consented to the necessary immediate sacrifices of food and clothing and the few comforts and conveniences that they might otherwise have had in somewhat larger measure. The demand for labor of every kind has made it possible for any man who wants it to get a job, and employers (almost wholly, be it remembered, branches or agencies of the state) are so eager to get labor that they appear to some extent, despite the plan, to be bidding against one another, as indicated in two of the advertisements quoted, just as they did in the United States at the height of the late lamented boom. Instead of using the machinery of the labor exchanges, with their inevitable red tape, they have accordingly taken workers wherever they could get them, despite the government prohibition of direct hiring, and have even advertised for labor, as we have just seen. As a result, the labor exchanges have become for the time being unnecessary and have fallen into practical disuse, despite the legal requirement that all hirings be made through them. Hence the government, like the good lawmaker that it is, recognizes the facts and brings the law into accordance with them, inasmuch as no practical interest of the worker is now served by the old requirement. The new law in effect is expected to give more liberty to specialized and highly trained workers to find the right place in the producing organization. Should conditions change so that private hiring became disadvantageous to the working citizens, presumably the old law would be reenacted, for the government has shown a surprising agility in adapting itself to changes.

I have said nothing of the mobility of the wage situation and the variations of wages among localities, occupations, and individuals. Just at the moment, with the terrific pressure to increase production, the Russians I have seen are crazy over piece work. In the Peasants' House in Moscow I even saw a chart showing that with the introduction of piece work on the collective farms the milk production of the cows went up from 10.2 to 13.4, if I remember the figures correctly. Whether it was liters per day or miles per hour my interpreter could not quite make out, but it makes no difference, the principle is the same; piece work in Russia today is good and only good, in the accepted view, and the labor organizations are insisting on its introduction. It is all a part of the mad pressure for production and speed.

The undiscouraged heralders of the return of capitalism in Russia will find plenty of themes for their song in the latest developments in the labor field; but unless I am grossly mistaken they will prove as far wrong as were the forgotten prophets of the overthrow of the Bolshevist Government. The managers of Russia's economic life are simply using some of the familiar devices of capitalism in their gigantic task of building up production in an economically backward state toward their ideal of socialism. Those devices seem to work quite differently, in some fundamental respects, under communism than they do under capitalism, and the differences, so far as I have yet been able to observe them, are not to the

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advantage of our system. What Russia's industrial leaders are doing, as far as I can make out, is to drive men from behind, not with the whip and bayonet, as is so often alleged, or even with the fear of starvation, as is frankly the case under our scheme, but with the lash of a frightfully effective public opinion; and to lure them from ahead with the familiar means of better immediate pay for better work, and, more significantly, I believe, with the hope of a better future for all the people through the workers' contribution to a common enlarged production. How far they are going to succeed I do not know. I do know that the results already achieved, under conditions incredibly difficult, are astounding even to the casual observer, if he have the slightest knowledge of economic and social history and theory. If the real rulers of the Western world would retain their leadership, even in part, then I am persuaded that they and their apologists would do well without further delay to recognize the profound significance of that combination of motives on the basis of which the Russians have accomplished the impossibilities of the past fourteen years, and to cease their parrot-like iteration of the impossibility of successful appeal in industry to anything except individual cupidity. The Russian construction marvels of 1931—and they are marvels—are not built on individual cupidity.

A North American Customs Union

By ALEX SKELTON

TRADE between Canada and the United States is greater than between any other two countries in the world. The North American continent is in many ways a complete economic unity, the northern half the complement of the southern half. Similar language and culture, similar political and economic organization make for similar standards of living; automobiles, coupled with an alternative to prohibition, bring one American in seven to Canada every year; the radio, the talkies, and the press make contemporary life in the two countries closer than ever before; yet the last decade has seen the tariff wall between the two countries rise to unprecedented heights, with consequent friction and disorganization of trade. It is boasted that, if one eliminates prohibition agents, bootleggers, and customs officers, there is not an armed man on the three-thousand-mile frontier; yet there is a continual commercial warfare that taxes and restricts every effort to supply the needs of one country from the resources of the other. There is a huge amount of subsidized propaganda daily directed against imports and in favor of local manufacturers; the facts are concealed or distorted; the narrowest nationalistic emotions are played on; the whole atmosphere approaches the jealousy of war. Incalculable harm to national and international well-being is done by the daily misrepresentation ground out by the propaganda mills of some powerful organs. Yet in spite of tariff walls these two countries are necessary complements to each other. In total trade Canada buys more from the United States and sells more to the United States than it does from and to any other country in the world. Similarly the United States buys more from Canada and sells more to Canada than from and to any other country in the world. Canada's trade with the United States is two and one-half times as large as her trade with England, which is the second largest, and American trade with Canada is one-quarter larger than that with England, the second largest in her case also. This is particularly striking in that the Canadian tariff is divided into three classifications—the lowest rate, or the British preference, the intermediate, and the highest, or general—English exports coming under the first, and American exports under the last and highest.

Yet this trade is admittedly but a fraction of what would take place under reciprocity, or free trade, between the United States and Canada. To give but one example, the following table shows exports of Canadian agricultural products to the United States ten years ago when the tariff rates were relatively low, and today when the Hawley-Smoot tariff has reached its pinnacle.

EXPORTS FROM CANADA TO UNITED STATES OF PRINCIPAL FARM PRODUCTS, AND UNITED STATES TARIFF RATES IN FORCE FOR TWELVE MONTHS ENDING JUNE, 1921, AND JUNE, 1931.

	Exports value 12 months to		*Tariffs rates in force*	
	June, 1921	*June, 1931*	*1921*	*1931*
Cattle	$21,240,000.	$ 764,000.	free.	under 700 lbs. 2½c lb. over 700 lbs. 3c lb.
Sheep	1,676,000.	244.	free.	$3 head
Wheat	101,997,000.	6,580,000.	free.	42c bu.
Flour	12,687,000.	4,310.	free.	$1.04 per 100 lbs.
Beef	4,485,000.	121,000.	free.	6c lb.
Mutton	1,500,000.	191.	free.	5c lb. (lamb 7c lb.)
Butter	2,294,000.	20,000.	2½clb.	14c lb.
Cream	2,087,000.	1,348,800.	free.	56.6c gal.
Flaxseed.	5,045,000.	1,088,000.	20c bu.	65c bu.
Maple sugar	1,122,000.	310,000.	3c lb.	8c lb. (now 4c lb.)
Wool	2,227,000.	275,000.	free.	24c—37c lb.

There are few more striking examples of the time-worn fallacies of protectionist argument and of the real forces behind the tariff than the Canadian-American situation, and there is no other tariff which so directly influences citizens on both sides of the line. What the United States has to offer Canada is obvious—the resources of half a continent and the economies of standardized, competitive production for the biggest market in the world. What Canada has to offer the United States is probably not so well known to American readers, but it may be briefly summed up as the undeveloped resources of the other half of the continent—a half slightly larger than the United States and Alaska together; a half that is now the largest exporter of wheat and forest products in the world; that produces 90 per cent of the world's nickel, 85 per cent of the world's asbestos, 10 per cent of the world's gold, and between 5 and 10 per cent of the world's zinc, lead, silver, and copper; and that has 15 per cent of the world's coal reserves. A half that is second only to the United States in total water-power development, and that has a horse-

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power installation per capita five times that of the United States and with five times as much still to develop. A half that is fifth among world countries in both exports and imports, and is second in per capita trade. The United States had a population of 75,000,000 before its foreign trade reached the proportions of Canada's today. Yet Canada has only 10,000,000 people, fewer than New York State.

How such an obvious measure as free trade between these two great and complementary areas failed to come about, and how the present tariff system grew up, is a tangled history of political and nationalist movements, of sectional pressure and log-rolling, of class legislation, of mob ignorance and susceptibility to catch slogans, and of high-pressure and unscrupulous salesmanship by the interested parties.

The desirability for both countries—and, shortly, in the case of Canada the necessity—of reciprocity, the urgent economic and practical reasons for its adoption make it the greatest single action the governments of both countries could take against the depression. This may seem paradoxical in view of the presence in office of super-protection parties in both Canada and the United States, and in the face of the undoubted world trend to governmental interference with trade, whether by tariffs, government import and export boards, stabilization boards, or direct communistic control of foreign trade. Nevertheless, in that trend of the past decade (which in turn required government and banking juggling with gold and currency) lay much of the cause of the present crisis; and in its reversal we have the road out. At present it seems to be more than a pious hope that the public in the United States is dissatisfied with the present regime and will shortly demand the trial of a new policy. Economic and political movements in Canada usually follow similar movements in the United States by several years, but in this particular case the pressure in the next few years in Canada will be even greater than in the United States, and the dual reaction may be hoped to coincide.

The close and necessary relation of the two countries may be pictured as follows: Canada, as a producer of raw materials, has a vast potential capacity, with, at present, a high overhead in the form of an overdeveloped transportation system and very irregular seasonal production, and with a small, scattered market. The United States is a huge machine which must constantly accelerate to live, which devours more and more raw materials, which needs lower and lower costs continually to expand its markets, and which needs the constant reinvestment of its surplus to maintain the purchasing power of these markets and absorb the continually increasing output.

Such similes are usually misleading in their generalities, but they give a picture of the immense undeveloped resources in Canada waiting for idle United States money and idle United States men to supply American and world markets with agricultural, forest, and mineral commodities at lower cost. The profit to both parties is obvious, but the objections of the opponents of free trade must be considered.

First, and most pressing, we have the vested interests that have grown up in the shade of the present tariff: the urban and rural communities largely dependent on protected industries, the stockholders who have invested their money in good faith, the workers who have spent their lives learning a trade, which may be an artificial and uneconomic one, but which is their livelihood. It is idle to deny the importance of these interests. It is beside the point to argue that it is better for them to suffer for an eventual profit than simply to suffer aimlessly as at the moment.

Rather it must be shown that protection is a false friend to even the individual industry itself. No one doubts the cost to the whole country of a protected industry—the cost of higher prices to the consumer based on uneconomic production, the cost of capital and labor diverted from their natural channels by artificial stimulus. But the general impression prevails that the individual industry itself benefits, which naturally leads to the next step of protecting all industries so that all benefit. Economists can hardly defy such a happy solution of all industrial problems, but the hard facts of depression do.

For protection benefits an industry—always at the expense of the rest of the country—only when the protection is constantly increasing. Once the protection becomes stabilized at a certain level, the profit goes. Either the artificial profit encourages additional capital to enter into production, and competition then forces the profits down, or, if the industry is a monopoly, its costs of production quickly rise. The costs do not have to rise, of course, but lacking the stimulus of international competition, the industry continues obsolete machinery and methods, neglects research, and while other companies are reducing costs, their costs remain constant, which is a relative increase. Consequently, in this age of rapid technical progress, the industry shortly finds itself in exactly the same position as before the additional protection was secured, while the public pays the difference in cost. Finally the industry suffers because substitutes are developed, and protection is then found to have been a false friend. Only in a depression has this fact—that protection is eventually disastrous for the protected industry as well as immediately costly for the whole nation—any hope of recognition.

Turning to the possibilities of reciprocity between Canada and the United States, we have the problem of the agriculturist in the United States and of the manufacturer in Canada. It would be a brave man who would suggest letting in 100,000,000 bushels of Canadian wheat duty free to the American market at this moment. Yet in actual fact there is no danger to the farmer in this, for the price of wheat, a product of which both countries have an exportable surplus, in both Canada and the United States is normally set by the price in Liverpool, and this is likewise true of every other agricultural product of which the United States has an exportable surplus. In the market-garden products the freight rate from Canada and the short Canadian season are adequate protection in themselves for the average United States producer. There would be no sudden disaster, but a steady tendency away from grain growing in the United States and to a greater grain production with the aid of cheap American machinery in the Canadian Northwest. In other words, the present tendency in the United States would simply be accelerated. It might be pointed out that had the United States not resorted to a tariff on grain, the American farmer would have been adjusting his production gradually over the last ten years. The tariff checked the natural economic tendency, simply postponing and making more acute the eventual reckoning.

The effect on some of the manufacturing industries in

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the Canadian East would undoubtedly be more drastic. There are, however, many factors to consider, such as the advantage of being first on the ground, of local knowledge and local contacts, and the decentralization tendency of American industry today, caused by high costs of distribution to distant markets. Nevertheless it must be admitted that many a small, uneconomically placed, obsoletely equipped, inefficiently run plant in eastern Canada would close down, with immediate local loss and distress. That this loss and distress would be nothing beside the periodic loss and distress of disorganized markets due to tariff readjustments today, is not enough to convince those interested of its necessity. It is difficult to conceive of the general and unreasoning fear of the United States that has been fostered in the average Canadian's mind. He is told to picture the immediate closing down of factories and the forced depopulation of Canada in the face of competition from the American industrial super-machine, and he believes it. He does not realize that his position would simply be that of the inhabitants of the great majority of American States, who, it is true, are dependent on some large centers for their specialized products, but who form a link in the whole chain of interdependence themselves, without whom the huge centers of mass production could not exist, and who are certainly not any the poorer because such specialization in the production of wealth has developed—wealth which could not be produced without specialization. Rather, with reciprocity and its resultant specialization Canada would increase in prosperity and wealth. She would have a tremendously increased market for farm produce in the metropolitan areas of the United States. Her cheap water power and raw materials even today offer great attractions to American manufacturers and these would increase. Finally wages would rise and prices to the consumer drop. And the American manufacturer would find not only new markets, but new and virgin fields of natural resources, with resultant lower costs to American consumers.

Against this we have the arguments that have quite recently won an election for the highest tariff party of all time in Canada. We have the ignorance expressed in such slogans as "Keep the money in the country" and "favorable balances of trade." The fallacy of the last remnant of mercantilism, with its confusion between money, simply the measuring piece of wealth, and real wealth in the form of consumable goods, flourishes more actively than ever. The average Canadian really feels that he and the country are benefiting by his paying $200 more for an American automobile made in Oshawa instead of Detroit. To meet slogan with slogan, "Keep the money in your pocket" might be suggested. As for Canada's unfavorable balance of trade with the United States, this is offset by the tremendous American tourist traffic to Canada, valued at over $300,000,000 annually.

Then there is the nationalistic argument, largely based on jealousy and reaching its climax in the dark hints, "We must be self-sufficient in case of war." These super-patriots should be frankly answered. Either Canada is anticipating war with the United States or she is not. If she is not, such slogans are bombast. The best possible guaranty against war is economic interdependence and the free flow of capital, people, and goods between countries, such as already exists on a large scale between Canada and the United States.

Finally the opponents of free trade say, we have the example of the United States itself. The United States has a higher tariff than Canada; the United States is richer than Canada—the answer is too easy. The real answer, of course, is that American prosperity has been built up on the largest free-trade market of all time. Half a continent, with rich and varied resources, a population of 125,000,000, and unrivaled cheap transportation, gives us the answer. It is not only the biggest and the wealthiest market in the world, but it is also the freest and most standardized market with the fewest obstacles to trade in the world.

Reciprocity, then, between Canada and the United States should be the first aim. The immediate gain to both countries would be greater than in the case of any other two nations; the obstacles, with a common speech, common standards, and common ties, would be less. This is the nearest-home and most logical place to attack the tariff walls.

In the case of Canada, it will soon be a necessity. After the war Canada expanded her production to take the place of Russia in European markets. As Russia is now returning to her normal role of the chief European producer of raw materials (a producer that supplied one-third of the world wheat exports for five years before the war), Canada is suffering. A change of government in Russia would not change this situation, for under any form of government that rich area of the earth would be a large producer, particularly now that its possibilities have been so dramatically exploited. In the meantime high-tariff Canadians pin much hope to the success of the protectionist movement in England. By this means they believe the English market at least will be preserved through Empire tariff preferences. Yet the chief purpose of the tariff, according to "Empire free trade" advocates in England, is to use its bargaining powers to force open markets for English textiles and machinery that are now closed by tariffs. Why the Canadian protectionists are so eager to see such an experiment in England, to whose markets Canada has now free access, and to which Canada would in future obtain access only on bargaining terms, is difficult to see. Even making the extreme assumption that England will impose a tariff on raw materials and foodstuffs, as well as on manufactures, there is no reason to believe England would favor Canadian producers, or American producers with plants and investments in Canada, more than she would favor Argentinian producers, in whose country England has a heavy stake, and who have not shown themselves so hostile to English manufacturers as have Canadians. The Canadian protectionist has made it amply clear that Empire tariffs are to be on a business basis, and he will find the English protectionist quite as sharp a business man as himself. Finally, England's abandonment of the gold standard lessens her importance as a market and effectively imposes a tariff on all imports, with no Empire preferences.

We may look forward to a period when Canada will be out of the European market and not yet in the American market, at which point the virtues of reciprocity will become more strikingly evident. Canada today, with but a fraction of a per cent of the world's population, is the fifth largest exporting nation in the world, and the second in trade per capita. Yet to sell she must buy; a successful one-way tariff has not yet been invented. Hence the hope and the prophecy that this decade will see a successful campaign for reciprocity between Canada and the United States and that this will be only the first breach in the world tariff walls.

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Paradoxes of Population

By R. R. KUCZYNSKI

THE practical problems which we today call population problems have worried mankind as long as the human race has existed. Overpopulation became an issue long before the soil was tilled. In fact, the fewer the means of intensifying the production of food, the more important was the proportion of available food to the number of people. Hunting tribes simply had to migrate whenever their food resources, which they had no means of increasing, neared exhaustion. Once agriculture became known, the proportion of the available food to the number of people became more elastic, and especially so when people began to transport food by land and along the streams and coasts.

But there always was a definite and rather narrow limit to the increase of mankind. We know very little about the actual number of the world's population in former times. According to a recent estimate of Walter F. Willcox, it amounted to about 836,000,000 in 1800. This was the result of a development stretching over hundreds of thousands of years. If we remember how little it requires for a population to double within a century and that one couple doubling within a century would, after 3,000 years, have more than 2,000,000,000 descendants, it is evident that prior to the nineteenth century there was no definite population trend. Periods with an excess of births must have alternated with periods of an excess of deaths. What, as a rule, took place was that in "normal" years births exceeded deaths, while in periods of wars, famines, and especially epidemics, deaths exceeded births. But there were many exceptions to that rule. There were races which, either on account of birth control in one or another form or on account of a widespread practice of infanticide, had so few children that even in "normal" years, not affected by wars, famines, or epidemics, deaths exceeded births.

The second half of the eighteenth century was one of those periods in which births conspicuously exceeded deaths. It is said that the total population of the world in those fifty years increased from 660,000,000 to 836,000,000. In Great Britain it increased from 6,100,000 to 10,500,000. The situation seemed the more critical as means had been found by which to check the spread of smallpox and possibly of other fatal diseases. No wonder that a great deal of anxiety prevailed about the future of the human race. Overpopulation seemed to be unavoidable, since mankind apparently increased faster than the means of subsistence. Nor was it ignorance as to the potential food resources of the earth which fostered pessimism. It was very well known indeed, for example, that enormous quantities of wheat might be grown in North and South America. But this was of no practical consequence whatsoever, since there were no means of carrying that wheat to the seashore.

It is, indeed, hard to conceive how the world's population could possibly have increased for one or two hundred years more at the rate it had increased in the second half of the eighteenth century without the invention of the steamship and the railroad. Those who forget that in 1800 no responsible person could consider the possibility of transporting great quantities of food by steam power may ridicule the fear of an overpopulation with 800,000,000 now that the earth carries 1,800,000,000. But they might get rid of their superiority complex if they realized how ridiculous we should appear to our great-grandfathers if they could see us unsuccessfully struggling to secure an adequate standard of living for 1,800,000,000 after all the progress science and technique have made in the last hundred years; if they saw us worrying at the same time about an overproduction of foodstuffs and an overproduction of human beings.

We should likewise appear ridiculous to the population experts who lived at the beginning of the nineteenth century if they could see the books and articles that have been published by our leading sociologists, economists, and biologists, since population, a few years ago, became an issue again. They would not trust their eyes if they could read a book on the "International Birth Strike" recently written by a well-known German economist who, through a comparison of the number of marriages and births occurring in a given period, discovered that Germany in 1975 would only have 46,000,000 inhabitants, that is, about 20,000,000 less than at present. They would point to the fact that the Prussian populationist Süssmilch, as far back as 1741, showed that this method, used by John Graunt in 1662, is quite fallacious because the number of births is only slightly affected by the simultaneous number of marriages.

Those scholars of the time of Malthus would not be less amazed if they could realize that one of America's most prominent biologists recommends as the best method of measuring "the net biological status of a population" to compute the ratio of births to deaths, which he calls the "vital index"; and they would simply not believe that the successors of the men who in 1790 directed that remarkable pioneer work, the taking of the first American census, would in the third decade of the twentieth century actually measure the vitality of the American people by means of this "vital index."

It is true that the application of such utterly absurd methods as have just been mentioned is not universal. But the usual method of measuring the reproduction of a population by computing the excess of births over deaths is hardly better. And yet it is no exaggeration to say that population would not be an issue again if people realized that the present high excess of births over deaths is largely the result of fertility and mortality, immigration and emigration, as they prevailed in a remote past; and that if present fertility and mortality remain constant we shall in a few decades rather have an excess of deaths over births.

The best method of measuring fertility is to compute—on the basis of the births grouped according to age of mothers—how many children, on an average, would be born to a woman (married or unmarried) passing through child-bearing age. The highest fertility I have been able to ascertain for any country is for French Canada, where 250 years ago ten or twelve children, on an average, were born to a woman. But not too much stress should be laid on this exceptional

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case, since the women of child-bearing age in French Canada then numbered only about 600, many of whom, as a consequence of the great excess of men, had married at the age of fourteen or fifteen years. The next highest figure I know of is that for the Ukraine, 1896-97, when seven or eight children, on an average, were born to a woman. It is, however, possible that fertility was, or is, just as high or even higher, say in one of the South American republics for which there are no adequate statistics on which to base a final judgment.

In the United States six or seven children, on an average, were born to a woman at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and fertility was no lower in Eastern Europe as a whole in the first decade of the twentieth century. But it has since decreased everywhere in North America and Europe. By 1928 the average number of children born to a woman passing through child-bearing age had dropped to about 5.5 in Russia, to about 4.5 in French Canada, to about 4 in the Ukraine, Poland, and Bulgaria, to about 3.5 in Italy, to about 3 in Hungary, to about 2.5 in the United States, and to about 2 in England, Germany, and Austria.

Now it is a well-known fact that countries like Germany and England had in 1928 an excess of births over deaths amounting to several hundred thousand. But it goes without saying that, with two children born to the average woman, a population would only just reproduce itself, even if each of those children reached parenthood, which, of course, is out of the question. It may on first sight seem paradoxical that a population with an excess of births over deaths should not reproduce itself. But this paradox is easily explained. However low may be the number of deaths, there must be a definite and rather considerable number of births in order to insure the reproduction of the population. The annual number of births in the United States is now about 2,400,000, and the annual number of deaths about 1,500,000. Let us assume that next year both figures dropped by one million and remained constant for the next fifty years. Let us assume further that no person died before reaching fifty years of age. The "vital index" would be enormous, and reproduction would seem to be rationalized in an ideal fashion. But what would be the situation fifty years from now? With a yearly increase of 900,000, the total population would be larger by 45,000,000. Yet the number of people under fifty years would be only $1{,}400{,}000 \times 50 = 70{,}000{,}000$, as against approximately 100,000,000 in 1931. It is evident that it would take only a few centuries until the population would practically die out.

A good method of measuring net reproduction is to compute—on the basis of fertility derived from the births grouped according to age of mothers and on the basis of mortality derived from a life table—how many children on an average will be born to a newly born girl in the course of her life. But this method can still be refined. In the matter of reproduction men play about the same part which salt plays in food. They are indispensable but not all the time, nor by any means in as large numbers as actually exist. History has shown that even considerable changes in the number of men affect very little the number of births. A new proof has been afforded by the World War. Ten years ago the male age groups around thirty years were very much depleted in the ex-belligerent nations of Europe. Today the men around thirty years are more numerous than ever, because births around 1900 reached a peak. Yet the most painstaking study of the downward trend of births in the last ten years cannot reveal any effect of this considerable increase in the number of men in the reproductive ages of life.

It therefore seems preferable to compute how many future mothers, if the prevailing fertility and mortality remain constant, will be born to one hundred mothers. The highest number I found for any country was 196 for the Ukraine, 1896-97. It is still 170 in European Russia. It was as high as 188 in Bulgaria in 1901-05, but had dwindled to 129 by 1929. In the United States it was 113 for the whites in the birth-registration area in 1919-20 and is now below 100. It is also below 100 in most countries of Western and Northern Europe. It has for some years been around 80 in England, Germany, Austria, Esthonia, and Latvia.

Making a survey of all countries for which adequate data are available, we may distinguish three groups:

1. European Russia, with about 125,000,000 inhabitants. The net reproduction is enormous and probably as rapid as it ever was, since mortality has decreased at least as much as fertility.

2. Southern Europe (Portugal, Spain, Italy, the Balkan states), Central-Eastern Europe (Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, Finland), Canada, and Australia, with about 200,000,000 inhabitants. The net reproduction in each of these countries is less than half as rapid as in Russia and in some cases is very slow.

3. The United States, Western, Northern, and Central-Western Europe, with about 325,000,000 inhabitants. The population no longer reproduces itself.

Groups 2 and 3, which comprise Europe (without Russia), North America, and Australia, cover the countries of the Western capitalistic world. The yearly excess of births over deaths still amounts here to about 3,700,000, but it is due to a temporary age composition which tends to swell the number of births and to reduce the number of deaths. If fertility and mortality should remain constant, or if they should decrease to the same extent, the excess of births over deaths would be bound to decrease, since the genuine population growth in groups 2 and 3 combined, if there still is any, is negligible.

European Russia, on the other hand, with not even one-fourth of the population of the two other groups combined, has an excess of births over deaths of approximately 3,000,000, and since it has an enormous genuine population growth, this excess of births over deaths is likely to increase. If fertility and mortality should remain everywhere constant, the Soviet Union, in a few years from now, will have a higher excess of births over deaths than all the capitalistic countries of Western civilization combined.

The Soviet Union, which covers about one-sixth of the habitable area of the earth, could easily accommodate twice its present population and probably more. The countries of the Western capitalistic world no longer may expect a considerable increase of their population as a whole. South America and Africa will perhaps never need an outlet for a surplus population, and certainly not in the course of this century. Japan is very densely settled, but has so far succeeded in increasing the standard of living of its people, in

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spite of their expanding numbers. The danger of overpopulation seems, then, to be confined to China and India. But the congestion there is no more serious now than thirty years ago, and it is unlikely that it will become more serious in the course of the next generation. To contend that China would double its population in forty or fifty years if it abolished civil war and infanticide is quite as futile as it would be to contend that the United States would double its population within a like period by abolishing birth control.

In the Driftway

THIS week the Drifter is turning over his column to a better cause than drifting. The following letter speaks for itself; it was sent to President Hoover by the signers, of whom three are farmers, three fishermen, and six housewives. The Drifter thinks it is worth a serious answer from a public officer who is interested in the welfare of the people he was chosen to govern. But he is willing to wager a battleship to a cookie that the most it drew in the way of reply was a polite acknowledgment from one of the President's secretaries.

MR. PRESIDENT:

The undersigned, upper Door County farmers, fisher folk, and a late-staying summer visitor, want to see disarmament come about. But we don't understand why reduction of armaments, which so many call for, isn't like cutting off a bad dog's head by starting at his tail and proceeding by inches. This would hurt the dog too many times, would leave him still scaring folks, and naturally he would always be trying desperately to jump the knife and get free of reduction. If he was really a bad dog, wouldn't one clip behind the ears be better?

The reduction plan doesn't seem to pan out. We learn that governments have been trying for decades to get each other to reduce, and instead armaments have grown more wicked and more costly. And suppose you could get them all cut 10 or 20 per cent—which people don't seem to expect—wouldn't each Power then be eyeing its neighbors, and trying to make its own 80 or 90 per cent go farther than the 80 or 90 per cent of the others? But that's not disarmament. It's scientific management, and keeps the armament system more on its toes than ever and always trying to dig itself in deeper. And it keeps the people thinking armaments. Why keep on making passes at the wrong end of the dog, when the right clip would get there better?

We think armaments make more people feel afraid than they make feel safe. Couldn't we all be just as well off without any, and have our money and boys into the bargain? Why not, then, have our representatives at the world disarmament conference next winter try for abolition of all national armaments, and then get busy, busy as we would for war, planning out new jobs, public or private, for the men displaced?

Many people say there's something else we ought also to be doing to make a job of the whole thing, and that is to play fair with the Kellogg Pact. They say it bound this country as a matter of national honor—at least if you read between the lines—to go right at fixing up, along with other nations, more perfect machinery than has yet been worked out for settling troubles without fighting. And why haven't we been at this for the last two years since the United States, its chief sponsor, ratified the pact? Is it perhaps because we've been busy making armaments and maneuvers?

At a little meeting of some of us on this subject the other Sunday we couldn't find that there is any government bureau, division, or office in Washington whose precise aim is to bring about the peace ways which the pact implies and must have in order to make good. But if we could get forward in filling this need we might find that the military machine had become a very plain fifth wheel. So many government millions for military things, and not a desk and chair specifically for bringing to pass a substitute so clearly indicated and urgently called for!

Do pick delegates for the February conference to match the plan for abolition all around. And do also get some best American brains pushing that honor job staring this country in the face.

Respectfully,

W. C. POWERS	JOHN R. SEAQUIST
MRS. LUCY CARROLL POWERS	HATTIE SEAQUIST
MILTON OLSEN	EMIL NELSON
MRS. LILLY OLSEN	MRS. EMIL NELSON
LAWRENCE E. EVANSON	M. J. EVANSON
MRS. L. E. EVANSON	MRS. MARTIN EVANSON

GEORGE E. HOOKER

Ellison Bay, Wis., October 16

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Pounds and Dollars

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The secret of what the British government intends to do about the pound is still well guarded, but as it seems most probable that it will decide to return to gold at a devaluated level, I venture, before it should be too late, to make one suggestion. This is that it fix the value of the new pound at some even or easily calculable relation to the dollar. The old gold parity was $4.8665, or as many decimals as one cared to add, and the calculation involved enormous, needless labor for foreign-exchange dealers and harassment for tourists. The relationship between the pound and the dollar, of course, was merely typical of that which holds between nearly all national currencies. In 1863, it is true, the Latin Monetary Union was founded, and France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and, later, Greece agreed to fix their currency units at identical amounts, but this arrangement fell apart when the various countries dropped off the gold basis, and no attempt has been made to restore it. If the British now devaluate the pound, they will be free to fix its new gold level at any figure they choose, and if they could fix it at $4, or some other even relation to the dollar, they would save the world a good deal of needless figuring and confusion in foreign trade, and they would indicate that in the interests of international exchange they were willing to put aside a false national pride in order to bring the two leading currencies of the world more nearly into harmony. Perhaps such a gesture would be too much to hope for, but its symbolic value, if it were made, would not be small.

New York, October 23 PERCIVAL MUSGRAVE

A Protest from Oklahoma

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The article entitled How We Solved It in Oklahoma City, in your issue of October 7, is predicated upon half truths and outright false statements. It is true that Oklahoma City has sought to keep the morale of the business community intact

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by comparisons showing how much better off we are than many cities; but we raised and intelligently spent $350,000 in our Community Chest last winter and spring for relief. In April we raised $75,000 more and have overspent that sum by $30,000. This compares well with cities of our population. In addition we were highly organized and did all that was possible to relieve unemployment conditions. The statement that we had no census is false.

Our objection to soup lines was that their patrons were unsupervised and around these camps grew up a group which could not be controlled either by social agencies or the police. Among the unfortunate unemployed were concealed bank robbers, dope peddlers, and other criminals who would not seek aid of our social agencies because they would thereby reveal their identity. The unemployed but honest in these camps were too indolent to register and seek aid. Our social agencies took care of all demands, not generously, for we could not, but no one starved or went cold or naked. These camps became pest holes morally and hygienically; the police sought to break them up at the insistence of the Department of Health and the social agencies.

About eighty arrests were made on vagrancy charges; most of those charged had criminal records or had refused to work. Governor Murray was misled into pardoning them as a body without investigation. This was what I criticized and all I criticized. I thought then and I think now that such wholesale, blind pardoning is subversive of government. I am unapologetic and I hardly think my criticism of the Governor's blanket pardon was unbecoming the liberal I claim to be.

Oklahoma City, October 10 CARL C. MAGEE,
Editor the *Oklahoma News*

The Lady of Godey's: Sarah Josepha Hale

By Ruth E. Finley

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Finance

Facts About the "Bears"

THE Stock Exchange has taken the courageous step of turning a searchlight on the operations of Wall Street pessimists—generally known as "bears"—by publishing the actual number of shares composing the uncovered short interest as it has stood at weekly intervals since last May. Daily figures are given covering critical periods during September and October, with the result that it is possible to trace with considerable accuracy the relationship of the short account to the movement of prices and the total volume of trading. In view of the widespread belief that short selling should be prohibited by law as a pernicious gambling device, these revelations are highly significant.

In its October Bulletin the Stock Exchange provides a chart showing the volume of the short interest and the fluctuations in stock prices as measured by the index of the Standard Statistics Company embracing ninety stocks. From May until the end of August the two curves move in reciprocal fashion; that is, a rise in the stock-price index is accompanied by a roughly symmetrical decline in the volume of short contracts outstanding, and conversely a fall in stocks is matched by a rise in the short-sales curve. As to which is cause and which is effect, there is little point in discussing. Certainly, the vigorous recovery in prices in the ten days following June 17 would hardly have been possible without the energetic repurchasing of stocks by bears, which proceeded at the rate of three, four, and five hundred thousand shares a day.

At the beginning of September, however, with the price index standing approximately where it stood on May 25, the short account contained only 4,338,000 shares, compared with 5,589,700 at the end of May. The main point in the debate over short selling is, Does it provide a "cushion" of buying power capable of breaking the force of a price fall brought about by a sudden emergency? Defenders of bear sales have insisted that it does, and the figures which the Stock Exchange now publishes for the first time indicate that there is truth in the contention.

On the morning of September 21 the newspapers announced that Great Britain had abandoned the gold standard. The prompt closing of nearly every leading stock market in Europe created a grave crisis for New York, and made it doubtful whether the exchange in that city would open. It did, but the governors prohibited short sales. The ban was in effect on September 21 and 22 and was lifted on September 23. A large number of traders who were short decided to cover. The following table shows the relationship between the total number of shares traded in and the reduction in the short account—in other words, the proportion of total transactions accounted for by short covering:

	Total sales	*Reduction in short interest*
September 21	4,396,225	543,700
September 22	2,052,000	534,787
September 23	2,932,610	233,518

On those three panicky days from 9 to 25 per cent of the buying orders were provided by speculators who had previously sold short. Prices broke badly, it is true, but they would have suffered more had it not been for this large volume of contractual buying. But the question is, How much of the covering movement was due to free speculative judgment and how much to the fact that the Exchange had suddenly decided to make matters unpleasant for the bears?

S. PALMER HARMAN

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The Bystanders

By MARK VAN DOREN

Who is this host of folk this fair spread day?
And who these few that stand and do not run—
Watching the others only, in the way
Of the dark stars outside the circled sun?
Strange, but the less are greater; only they
Have number; here the many are the one.

Strange, but the host is single, like a beam
Of noon that folds its particles inside.
Strange, but the few are many. Yet they dream
Of darkness, and of standing unespied,
Watching the rabble current—envied stream!
One river! though it is both deep and wide.

Here on the shore, in an imagined night,
They stand and wrap their arms; but on each face
Falls the dead flush of a reflected light
That fringes their aloofness as with lace—
The memory of a multitude's sweet might;
The flowing, and the union, and the grace.

The grayness all around them is old mist
Engendered by the chill of their contempt.
These were the few that labored to resist,
And the flood set them, separate and exempt,
Here on the windless shore—but now they twist
With a new longing, and the frail attempt,

Returning, to go smoothly once again
Down the sole river where the lashes close.
And the eyes, sinking, dream of dancing men.
Yet here they stand in their uneven rows,
Superior forever—until when
Death lifts a hollow socket-bone and blows.

Through Western Eyes

Dostoevski: A New Biography. By Edward Hallett Carr. With a Preface by D. S. Mirsky. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

IN his own mind Dostoevski was a prophet and perhaps a saint besides. Nothing would have pleased him less than the proposal to grant him only a literary greatness, but it is, nevertheless, the obvious intention of the present biography to deny him everything else. Based upon a mass of intimate documents hitherto unused by biographers, it sets out quite deliberately to smash the idol of a cult and to substitute in its place the image of a man who was—despite his literary genius—less mysteriously profound than merely weak, hysterical, and muddle-headed. Its author has scant respect for the previous books on his subject, and D. S. Mirsky, who introduces him, has even less for what he calls "the Pecksniffian sob-stuff of Mr. Middleton Murry, the perverse and arbitrary sophistication of André Gide, and the unutterable rot of a legion of pseudo-profound Germans." But despite this truculent attitude, Mr. Carr succeeds in making a plausible case for himself, and there can be no doubt of the fact that he has considerably sharpened the outlines of a life story which has hitherto been deduced a little too freely from Dostoevski's own writings.

Perhaps no single one of the innumerable facts revealed in recently published documents is in itself sensational, but, if one grants Mr. Carr his common-sense premises, the sum of them is undoubtedly telling; since to follow almost day by day the involutions of Dostoevski's thought and conduct is inevitably to conceive a growing impatience with the processes of his hysterical temperament. Recklessly improvident and unreliable in practical matters, he seemed to think almost as erratically as he acted, and it must sometimes appear, at least to those accustomed to Western patterns of thought, that he did not himself know just where he was going. Thus, despite the youthful indiscretion which landed him in Siberia, his revolutionary sympathies were so inverted that he soon became a pillar of nationalism and orthodoxy. Despite his reputation for being advanced, his only real quarrel with the society amid which he lived was that it was not, by Western standards, nearly "backward" enough. And though he intoxicated himself with the emotional connotations of such terms as the "soil" and the "Russian God" he had no very clear idea of what he meant by these terms, nor any knowledge whatsoever of the Russian peasant to whom he attributed such depths of wisdom and goodness.

Moreover—and as Mr. Carr points out—his mind had received its bent from a group of writers whom no one now considers so profound as this disciple of theirs is supposed to be. It was from Rousseau, not from experience, that he learned to believe in the native goodness of the simple man; from Byron that he learned to judge the greatness of a man's soul by the amount of tumult which it contained; and from various lesser men that he imbibed the cult of the noble prostitute. Hence though Europe hailed him as "modern" and "Russian," he was far from being purely either, and what Europe was receiving with awe was merely, so Mr. Carr implies, a superficially exotic version of its own discredited thinkers. Dostoevski was a great and moving novelist, but his ideas were either shabby, muddled, or absurd.

Considered as a factual account, the present book has considerable value. Considered as a common-sense critique of Dostoevski's moral and political ideas, it is logical and thorough. But it has, nevertheless, the very serious defect inherent in the fact that it never consents to meet its subject upon his own ground. "Judge the Russian people," says Dostoevski in a passage duly quoted, "not by the degrading sins which it often commits, but by the great and holy things to which, in the midst of its degradation, it constantly aspires . . . Judge the people not by what it is but by what it would like to become." And that passage—however ridiculous it may seem to common sense—implies the principle from which every one of Dostoevski's convictions may be deduced. Every paradox is explained by his fanatically uncompromising insistence upon the "inner" or the "spiritual" as opposed to the "outer" or the "material," and it is merely begging the question to cite that fact against him. He cared no more than salvationists have ever cared what crimes or confusions society might suffer, because he believed, as salvationists have always believed, that the world and the body were supremely unimportant. Nor is it likely that he will cease to be metaphysically interesting so long as the paradox with which he deals remains unresolved.

In practice men muddle through. But every ethical discussion must concern itself sooner or later with the importance of 'being" versus the importance of "doing," and that is Dostoevski's recurrent theme. Perhaps the founder of Christianity was himself a little ambiguous, and the Western church has

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been pleased to adopt a pragmatic attitude; but that attitude is, on the whole, rather more difficult than Dostoevski's to reconcile with the teachings of either Jesus or any other mystic, and there is no modern book which makes clearer than "The Idiot" does what are the ultimate implications of those aspects of Christian teaching which a pragmatic society prefers to ignore. The Catholic church stands for Christian order. Dostoevski stands for Christian anarchy. And he is too convenient a symbol to be dismissed quite yet as a "mere" littérateur.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Mahatma Gandhi's Method

Mahatma Gandhi at Work. Edited by C. F. Andrews. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THIS book might be considered the passive resister's manual of revolt. In "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas" Mr. Andrews described the beliefs of Gandhi on matters of private and public life; in "Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story" he gave us an abridgment of Gandhi's autobiography; in this final volume of the trilogy he shows us how Gandhi arrived at the doctrine of Satyagraha (undeviating adherence to the Truth, "Soul-Force") as a weapon for resisting injustice, and how he applied it successfully in leading the Indians against white oppression in South Africa. The present work is composed of selections from Gandhi's own writings, especially "Satyagraha in South Africa," which Mr. Andrews presents with the same skill as he did the preceding volumes.

The story is one that starts back in 1860 with the coming of the first indentured Indian laborers into Natal. When these and their followers in succeeding years had finished their term and become "free," they were regarded as an economic menace to the whites, much as are Asiatics in California today; and they, their children, and other Indians who had come for trade were opposed with all the legal restraints that could constitutionally be framed against them. In one colony or another they were subjected to an exorbitant discriminatory poll tax, were denied property rights, were hindered in movement from place to place, were restricted to specified residential areas in the cities, and were annoyed with many other regulations designed either to keep them in a condition hardly distinguishable from servitude or to compel them to return to India.

As the number of Indians increased, the measures became more rigorous. The most stringent were those of the Transvaal, first when it was a Boer republic, later when it had become a British crown colony, and finally when in 1907 it had been granted representative government. In the last period it enacted the "Black Act," by which Asiatics were required to register in a manner calling for information usually demanded only of convicted criminals, and to carry at all times certificates for immediate inspection by the police. Another regulation of the South African Union government in 1913 denied the validity of marriages celebrated according to the rites of Hinduism and Mohammedanism.

The desperate state of the Indian community might have been irremediable but for Gandhi, who had already been in South Africa many years working for his race. When the "Black Act" was proposed in 1906, he had become the natural leader of the resistance. By inclination and religious conviction he was opposed to the use of violence; and, further, circumstances were such that no appeal to physical force could have helped the Indians. He therefore developed a technique of passive resistance, intimately associated with mystic religion, which he persuaded a large portion of the Indian community to adopt. Imprisonment and suffering for great numbers followed, and all possible forms of discouragement, but a large enough portion of the community stood firm to win the victory at last in 1914.

The steps of the passive resistance illustrated in this book would be as follows. First, there must be consecrated leaders, convinced of the righteousness of their cause, who have purified themselves of all lust for the things of the world and the flesh, and in "the service of their country have to observe perfect chastity, adopt poverty, follow truth, and cultivate fearlessness." The community should observe the same vows. With full recognition of their own weakness and that of the community, these leaders and their followers must have implicit confidence in God to direct the campaign, for from him comes the help and the victory. The community then as a whole refuses to obey the measures against which it is protesting. There must be no hatred of the opposing side; no violence must be used. There must be immediate submission to arrest or other suffering inflicted by the government. In this suffering lies great benefit, for from it the community receives strength and it becomes a force which God uses to soften the hearts of the oppressors. In the end, if the community retains its single-minded purity of heart, never wavers, and endures the suffering without flinching, God will give it its righteous demands.

Much could be written about the background in Indian thought for these notions, or about the similar program which Gandhi has endeavored to conduct in India since 1919. Question might be raised as to whether or not the mistrust between Hindu and Mohammedan, which was transcended in South Africa, does not prevent final victory in India. Perhaps the most opportune question for Americans and other Occidentals is whether Gandhi's technique is practicable in our world, where at present many give it high acclaim. Our latest revolution, that of Russia, was accomplished by means the exact antithesis of Gandhi's; and his method is, I am told, considered in Russia visionary and sentimental. Our pacifists tend to advocate not so much non-resistance as economic war rather than military war. The skeptic might deny the intervention of God for victory in South Africa and see it as the result of an inordinate human obstinacy. Whatever the truth may be, the mystical religious basis of his program, the asceticism, and the enduring of suffering for its own sake seem more nearly in conformity with the ideas of medieval Europe than with those of the modern West.

W. NORMAN BROWN

Mr. Faulkner's World

These Thirteen. By William Faulkner. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $2.50.

MR. FAULKNER has the tone and emotional impact of a major writer. But despite the dramatic stress and portentousness of his work its implications are too frequently minor. It has so often been pointed out that Mr. Faulkner "creates his own world" that one at first assumes that his work tends to be minor simply because it is idiosyncratic. Yet one has only to take the example of Baudelaire to understand how even an esoteric symbolism may be consistent with that largeness of implication which we feel to be one of the primary requirements of major writing. In the work of Mr. Faulkner the absence of this largeness of reference seems to be the result of his particular social point of view rather than of the symbols that express it.

But for the present reviewer Mr. Faulkner is most interesting when he avoids social implications entirely. When he can exploit emotion in some strange and hitherto unexplored setting of mind or place he seems most at ease. Such settings are the minds of the children as they come into contact with primitive fear in the story That Evening Sun, or the lost and fantastic colony of Negro-owning Indians in Red Leaves and

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A Justice, or again the fear-hazed mind of the platoon and the caving chalk-field over which it wanders in Crevasse. These scenes and moods, isolated from common reality, self-defined, not a little fantastic, offer Mr. Faulkner the possibility of complete success.

Such stories, depending as they do on mood, scene, and melodrama, are perhaps as unimportant as those of a writer like A. E. Coppard, but this question becomes irrelevant before their technical perfection. However, when Mr. Faulkner's material is not isolated, but is the material of the daily world, perfection dissipates. Pure event, pure emotion, acceptable enough in a special world, are given the lie by a common world which cries out for understanding as well as for rendition. A Rose for Emily, the story of a woman who has killed her lover and lain for years beside his decaying corpse, is essentially trivial in its horror because it has no implications, because it is pure event without implication; and for the same reason the hero of Hair is, with his endless self-abnegation, little more than quaint—a "character," an "original." Moreover, when Mr. Faulkner does wish to hint implications, when he deals with philosophical emotions, the world in which he sets them has no vital contact with the world of common experience. In Ad Astra and All the Dead Pilots he uses an isolated society of inarticulate young men who in civilian life were separated from many of the realities of existence by their aristocracy, and who in the war are yet more isolated by the aristocracy of the flying corps and their love of death. Here, because the philosophical importance of emotions depends on their articulateness and their universality, Mr. Faulkner's emotions fail of final meaning and become high-flown and sentimental.

The social point of view which impairs the importance as well as the perfection of Mr. Faulkner's work may perhaps be traced to the ideology which animates two of his early novels, "Soldiers' Pay" and "Sartoris." To the world of these books, with its sentimental nostalgia for past glory, Toledo rapiers, and lace ruffles, Mr. Faulkner gives fullest assent. In consequence, "Soldiers' Pay," intended for a tragic post-war novel, is merely womanish and idyllic, and "Sartoris," the story of a line of Southern gentlemen who do swagger bitter deeds and court death with a gallant despair, is shockingly close to a Michael Arlen confection of mad Marches, "despair," and "gallantry." As in every aristocratic society, there is to be found here a will to forget the physical basis of life; and tragedy robbed of its physical core and allowed to retain only its sad glow degenerates into slack softness and sentimentality. Like every aristocracy, this one is hostile to the generalization of experience, to ideas; hence the unilluminating inarticulateness of so many of Mr. Faulkner's people; hence, too, their quaintness, their mere melodrama and lack of significance, for what we mean by a "character" is a person whose qualities cannot be related to principles. A will to secede, to cherish its apartness and live out of the present is characteristic of Mr. Faulkner's particular aristocracy and to this one may trace the specialness and apartness of his artistic worlds.

It is when Mr. Faulkner breaks from this ideology that he is at his best. When he awoke from the aristocratic obliviousness to the physical which marred his two early books and, in his three later novels, used physical symbols, he left sentimentality behind and achieved both reality and generality of implication. Yet the other qualities of the ideology which we have noted still operate, even in the best of Mr. Faulkner's work, such as "The Sound and the Fury" and "As I Lay Dying," to make it essentially parochial.

In the present volume perhaps the two best stories are Dry September and Victory. The first is the story of a lynching, the second of a Scotch shipwright whom the war makes a gentleman and who remains one in waxed mustache and pressed suit even when reduced to selling matches. These stories seem best because they are aerated by contact with the common world, by the writer's acceptance of the common, an acceptance which by no means limits the originality, even idiosyncracy, of their vision and style. Beside them the rest of the stories, for all their success in their own terms, have a subtle kind of stuffiness, shut off as they are in their interesting but hermetically sealed universes.

LIONEL TRILLING

Early Americans

Native Stock. By Arthur Pound. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THIS book is a very valuable piece of work, reviving as it does several all-but-forgotten Americans of the early days who embody one or more typically American qualities. The qualities, one deduces, are optimism, solid good sense in the practical concerns of life issuing in acquisitiveness, a bent for action, a love of learning, love of country, and the cultivation of grandiose schemes of expansion.

Mr. Pound's men are the William Pepperrells, father and son, John Bradstreet, Ephraim Williams, Robert Rogers, James Clinton, and Elkannah Watson. The William Pepperrells rose to fame and fortune in Maine and Massachusetts—to fame in military affairs and to fortune in shipping and commerce. Solid and substantial, their urge to found a family was defeated by nature, and the line ran out, the last Pepperrell becoming a pensioner of the king after losing his estates through being a Tory in the Revolution. But the family, in spite of this blot, was unquestionably one of greatness, if only by virtue of the fact that the second William commanded the successful expedition against Louisburg in 1744. John Bradstreet was a protege of this William Pepperrell. He lacked the acquisitive strain, but he had supreme practical abilities and was one of the earliest professional soldiers in America. If the substantial Pepperrells and Bradstreet were respectable, a typical American of the non-respectable type was Robert Rogers, a New Englander by birth and an expert woodsman. Of unquestioned ability as a scout, and a man whose word was to be trusted when he was employed in that capacity (he was followed implicitly by Sir William Johnson and Lord Jeffrey Amherst), he was on the other hand utterly unreliable and even downright dishonest in his financial dealings and the victim of chronic drunkenness which upset his moral dependability in every field except scouting. He came to a bad end after being a great hero in the colonial world. Ephraim Williams was, by contrast, the good woodsman who crowned his career of action by leaving money to found Williams College. James Clinton, father of the brilliant and erratic De Witt and brother of the prepossessing George, was one of those solid old war horses who give one "faith in human nature." He was the sort of man who did his duty and did it well, but who just missed final distinction. He had no capacity for playing to the gallery or for assiduously cultivating those who distribute honors according to the dictates of politics.

But the most amusing and in some ways the most brilliant man in Mr. Pound's gallery is Elkannah Watson. Watson, who came of good Plymouth stock, started out in life as a poor boy apprenticed to the Browns of Providence (who gave their name to Brown University) and by dint of successfully grasping every opportunity saw a good deal of the world. He toured the colonies during the Revolution as a business agent, went to France in the same capacity and made a fortune in his own right which he precipitately lost in the crash after the American War, was in England at the conclusion of peace and saw George III declare the colonies free and independent States, made friends with Franklin, John Adams, Washington, and others,

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returned home to advocate canals (he originated the conception of the Erie Canal), develop the idea of country fairs, establish stagecoach routes and banks, and survive in the public memory chiefly because in 1790 he predicted that by 1930 the United States would have a population of 133,000,000. Altogether Elkannah Watson is the choice spirit of this book, and the only one, it seems to me, that cries out for full-length treatment.

Most of Mr. Pound's men were in some way concerned in the history of New York State and with Sir William Johnson, about whom Mr. Pound wrote at length a year or so ago. If Mr. Pound has any more material on hand which can be presented in portrait sketches he should prepare it for the press. He has a gift for investing these lesser heroes with the breath of life.

C. Hartley Grattan

Art

The Memorial of Miss Bliss

THE recently terminated summer-long exhibition of the Museum of Modern Art, the memorial show of the collection of the late Miss Lizzie P. Bliss, vice-president of the museum, leaves a peculiar feeling of poverty in its wake; and the collection includes shining expressions of life. Several of the Cézanne oils in it figure honorably among the painter's complete materializations of the breath and spirit of things. The self-portrait in the lawyer's bonnet is easily one of his most rounded and eloquent realizations of the quality of a personality in his early, heavy, *impasto* style of painting; the small interior with the seated figure of the collector Chocquet, one of the superior male portraits in his later, subtler manner of manipulating color. The standing Bather is a characteristic expression of the adjustability of nature, felt in the peculiar balance and strength and delicacy of an uncouth, warped, almost deformed human shape. Both the still-life with the three oranges and the "unfinished" still-life with the many apples stand high among the almost mystical experiences of the glow, surge, and abundance of the forces of life communicated to the painter through palpation of the forms and textures of solids. The landscape with the rocks and pines is a finely warm, luminous articulation of the impulsion of natural things toward the light: one of Cézanne's material harmonies of shapes and colors having the effect of a little system of metaphysics, and pointing the way to cubism.

Besides the oils the collection includes half a dozen good examples of the master's precise, structural water colors. And besides the Cézannes it contains that exquisite little design by an impeccable craftsman, Seurat's Port en Bessin; it contains the pungent, electrically tactile Green Still Life (1914) by Picasso; it contains the strong, round little Laundress by Daumier, lustrous as a black pearl and frank and warm as a clasp of the hand. In second line it comprises a vibrant Degas pastel, Pissaro's jewel-like By the Stream, the tense, pathetic little Miss May Beltort of Toulouse-Lautrec, drawings, stencils, and color crayons by Degas, Picasso, and Seurat. The Hina Tefatu of Gauguin is about as intrinsically interesting as any painting of this exploiter of exotic subject matter. The two Matisse interiors, the one of 1917 in particular, are very light and piquant expressions of that bourgeois contentment which this Parisian's later canvases so unanimously hymn. The Redon, Silence, is exquisite; the Modigliani is somber and representative; the Dancing Children of Arthur B. Davies is charming; the Rousseau jungle landscape is probably genuine; so are the Byzantine panels, the Coptic textiles, the Prendergast, etc.

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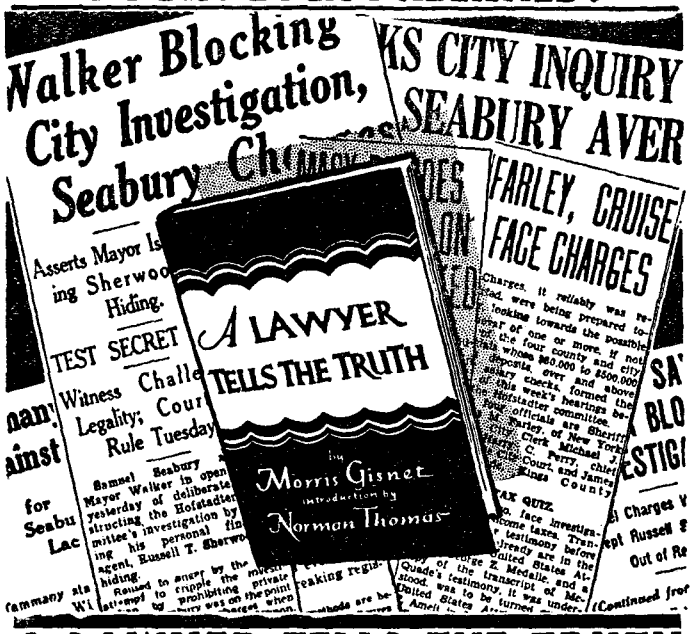

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But the fine expressions of life the collection contained merely aggravated the feeling of poverty left by it. For all its many gems the show was curiously insignificant. It affirmed no spiritual value, no attitude of its own toward life. There are collections which do represent an idea, which do affirm some relationship with creation more important than existence itself; either because they are assembled with such an idea, with such an affirmation, in view, or because by a process of selection they manage to appreciate, interpret, and further the influence of the scheme of spiritual values of some painter or group of painters. Several of this kind are now in course of formation in New York. But Miss Bliss's not only manifests the effect of no idea more serious than that of forming a collection and founding a museum; it tends to befog and ineffectualize the attitudes and values of the work of the best men which it includes. Wandering about the show, one's glances continually met evidences of a lack of understanding of the meanings of her works of art on the part of the gentle collector—signs of an interest fatally divided between the affirmer of a value and the negator of the same, an uncertainty of quality in things quite as large as the uncertainty of their meanings. The cloud of witnesses began orating in the frames of the Cézannes. One found paintings of the man concerned above all his colleagues with the elimination of everything unessential, irrelevant, luxurious; the man rejoicing to touch the quick of life in the homeliest, commonest stuffs and objects—wood, onions, apples, the sides of barns, women in plain dresses, the summer sky—hung in the heavy, ornate, gilded picture-frames appropriate to stuffy drawing-rooms. The testimony continued more emphatically in the division of the center of interest between Cézanne and Arthur B. Davies. No two artists have ever more thoroughly contradicted each other's spiritual values than these two men. It was the aim of Cézanne to achieve reality by seeing the object, the "superb fact," entirely in its own terms, and utterly bare of extraneous poetry; to approach and feel and encompass the mysterious substance of life with all the senses and with the whole weight and animation of the body; and to find and invent the methods most competent to record his discoveries. Davies, however, was full of a vague, school-girlish poesy; and his art was the extension of this sort of inherited poetry at the expense of a complete participation in life itself. One has merely to read his titles to comprehend how second-hand that romance was. There is no real tension, or appetite for the grasp and encompassment of solid form, in his approach. His art is that of the caressing finger-tips. The pigment is put on with evident delight, with a good deal of daintiness and taste. There is paint quality of a sort in every canvas touched by him. But the rhythm is weak and wan, utterly without intensity and "guts." Besides, his method, his idiom, is strongly derivative; and eclectic at that. His later paintings bewilder with reminiscences of Ryder, of the Italian primitives, of Corot, the Chinese, Greek vase-painting, and other pictorial norms; none of them improved by his treatment. Viewing them, one cannot doubt that Davies had an exquisite appreciation of the effects of other men. But his appreciation appears merely to have cost him the relatively personal style of his earlier canvases.

As for the indications of a thorough uncertainty in matters of quality, the collection is unhappily loud with them. The aesthetic inferiority of the Renoir oil, of the Derains, of the Rousseau and numerous other specimens is by no means the most strident note of this chorus. What most saddened the visitor was the fact that Miss Bliss associated with the work of men of the greatness of nature of Cézanne and Seurat and Daumier, and Degas, Pissaro, and Picasso, too, not only expressions in the spirit of Davies, but expressions of such very inferior attitudes as those of Gauguin and Walt Kuhn and several other of her artists ultimately are. And at the expense of Van Gogh and Sisley, Braque and Bonnard, to say nothing

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of the great American contemporaries! One could have condoned a merely defective sense of workmanship. To be an American, after all, is to be unprepared. But indiscrimination of the quality of human souls! That borders on the inexcusable.

The collection, with certain provisions, goes to the museum of which Miss Bliss was the vice-president; and its directors undoubtedly, in time, will make their own selection from the confused bequest. But it remains a pity that it is so half-and-half a thing. Is not hierarchy of values the greatest of national assets? The confusion of them displayed by this well-meaning lady's aggregation of paintings is certainly the most devastating of all forms of poverty. PAUL ROSENFELD

Music

Two Frenchmen Who Know How

NOW that Wiener and Doucet have actually given a recital, I suppose even their management, which so successfully kept the secret of their coming, can have no objection to my mentioning them. Anyone less divinely conservative than a concert manager could have seen a number of years ago that Wiener and Doucet would score a brilliant success in New York. And anyone less patient would have been tempted to give them a chance in a good year rather than a bad one. Now they have come and they have scored their success, but if bad management or bad playing could have affected it, they would doubtless have failed, for there was plenty of both in connection with their first recital.

Wiener and Doucet are two French pianists. Wiener is a little, nervous, sophisticated, catlike fellow, a thorough musician, and, like many other Frenchmen, a jaded one. Doucet is a big, roly-poly chap who used to play—perhaps he still does—for the dancing at the Boeuf sur le Toit in the rue Boissy d'Anglas. Wiener's musicality is of the conscious, energetic, nervous, cynical variety that flourishes in Paris. He is a miniature Milhaud—which doesn't make him very big. Doucet is a spontaneous, facile, childlike musician who shakes piano virtuosity out of his sleeves. Wiener hasn't an ounce of flesh on his bones or in his playing. Doucet seems hardly to have an ounce of bone in his mountain of flesh—his tone is rich, sweet, mellifluous. They are vinegar and oil (the New Yorker's Mr. Simon should not miss the opportunity to refer to them as Wienaigre a-Douci), and they make a good dressing for a Franco-American salad, but when they pour themselves over Viennese cream-puffs their virtues are easily forgotten. Which is to say that their unique and highly stylized playing is admirably suited to their own brilliant arrangements of jazz tunes, but that it becomes insufferably mannered and mistaken when they attempt Strauss waltzes and Mozart sonatas.

If you want to hear tone colors that you have never heard before, admirable crescendi and miraculous decrescendi, rhythms that only God and Wiener and Doucet understand and the rest of us can only hugely enjoy, stylizations that make brilliant and wonderfully entertaining concert pieces out of ordinary jazz tunes—don't miss them. Two-piano playing of jazz tunes is not a novelty, but the Wiener and Doucet variety is not remotely approached by any other team. The mannerisms, the affectations, and the weaknesses that make their Mozart painful to listen to become transformed when they turn their attention to "Tea for Two" or "That Certain Feeling."

If you are one of those who think that the "Rhapsody in Blue" or "An American in Paris" shows what can be done symphonically with "American folk-material," or if you think that no Frenchman could ever approach the rhythmic vitality

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A recital like the recent one of James Friskin receives too little notice and is missed by too many people for the simple reason that it is so hard to write about. Being only excellent playing by a sincere and self-effacing musician, it does not invite superlatives, and consequently even a favorable review is too apt to give the impression of damning with faint praise. But while Mr. Friskin's Bach is not a blinding revelation like Myra Hess's, or Toscanini's, it is richly satisfying, thoughtful, scholarly, imaginative—a capable projection of a sincere, intelligent, and significant conception. ARTHUR MENDEL

Drama

A Rule

THERE are very few rules for the drama. Most of those proposed from Aristotle on have been successfully violated, and the "can'ts" of dramaturgy are like the "can'ts" of science—merely provisional at best. But there is, nevertheless, such a thing as human psychology, and art produces its effects by methods which must achieve a certain accord with the workings of the mind. Hence there are facts which an artist cannot afford to neglect unless he is willing to meet the difficulties into which this neglect will inevitably lead him.

One of the most important of these is the fact that both our thoughts and our emotions like to know where they are going. It is pleasant to be led on by regular steps in a consistent direction, and art owes no small part of its charm to the fact that we may usually abandon ourselves to it with the full assurance that we are being conducted in orderly fashion toward some predetermined goal. Life baffles and seems almost to mock. Few incidents end in accord with their beginning, and we are constantly finding ourselves compelled to laugh when we were prepared for tears or to weep at the conclusion of what began as a comedy. But art seldom plays us such a trick. Farces, tragedies, or idylls are usually labeled for what they are, and even when they are not, something in the tone of the proceedings gives us the key to the emotional expectations which are first awakened and then satisfied. We usually require that the first scene of a play shall indicate in some fashion the general character of the feelings which it proposes to evoke, and that, as it proceeds, it shall come more and more closely to an emotional focus until it reaches a conclusion for which we have been so prepared that we can feel it both clearly and fully.

Now it is, I think, the failure to do just that which accounts for the relative ineffectiveness of the English tragicomedy called "Lean Harvest" (Forrest Theater); for that play is undoubtedly far less effective than many of its virtues ought to make it, and it is somehow disappointing despite the really superb performances by Leslie Banks and Nigel Bruce. It would, indeed, be possible to make a very impressive list of its virtues, chief among which are a gentle but fresh intelligence and some of the most easily natural comedy dialogue heard this year on Broadway. Moreover, the play has an amiable and genuine charm; but it is disappointing because it never comes

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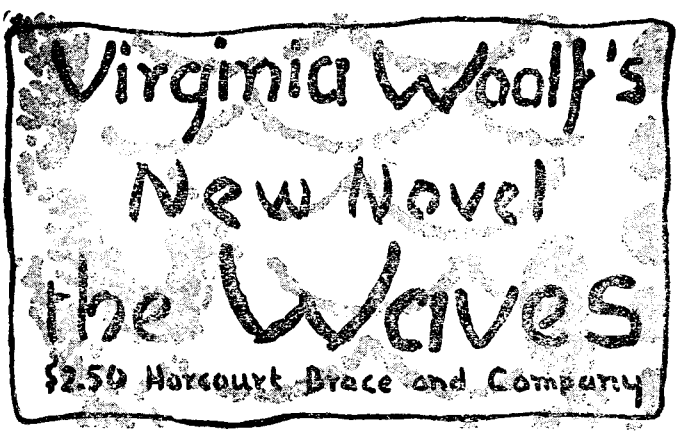
to a focus, and because one never knows to just what one is being led. Its effects war with one another; its parts are no more than parts; and it never becomes, as every really good play must, more than the sum of its details.

In the first place, it tells the double story of two brothers who choose different careers, and double stories are always dangerous in drama because they scatter the interest and interrupt the continuous flow of the narrative. But this scattering of the action is less distressing than the failure to maintain a consistent emotional level or to let the audience know to what emotional effect it is being gradually led. The piece begins in the key of high comedy, and returns to that key from time to time, but it ends on a note of melodramatic tragedy, and the audience, continually compelled to readjust its attitude, comes away without feeling that it has undergone one of those consistent experiences which it is the business of art to give.

Events might happen thus. There is nothing illogical about the course which they take or about the conclusion which they reach. But the feelings which the spectacle evokes are not consonant with one another, and it is exactly that which those evoked by a genuinely satisfactory piece of art must be. Most actual events may be interpreted in more than one way but most plays can be interpreted only in accordance with the tone which their authors gave them, and it is, indeed, just the stamping of an occurrence as clearly and incontrovertibly funny, or terrible, or sad—just the bestowal upon it of an apparently inevitable significance—which reveals the transforming touch of the artist, whose business it is to remove it from the realm of fact where it may mean anything into that realm of art where it can mean only what he intends it to mean. The author of "Lean Harvest" was not sure how he felt about his personages or their fates, but an artist should be sure of that before he is sure of anything else, since emotional ambiguity—however common it may be in life—has no place in art.

"The Pillars of Society" (Forty-eighth Street Theater) was selected by the New York Repertory Theater as the second item of the repertory which began so auspiciously with "The Streets of New York." Obviously Ibsen's early play dates somewhat without dating quite enough to be considered a genuine antique like Boucicault's melodrama. Nevertheless, I found it more entertaining than most of my colleagues seem to have done, and I recommend it at least to those who are interested in the history of the drama. "The Cat and the Fiddle" (Globe Theater) promises to be one of the musical hits of the season and has several tunes in Jerome Kern's best style. I must confess, however, that I found in it the same defect that I find in almost all polite musical comedies. Two or three tunes—even if they are good—and two or three jokes—even if they are funny—are not enough for an evening's entertainment.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH



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Jugoslavia's Sham Constitution

By EMIL LENGYEL

ALEXANDER I, King of Jugoslavia, proclaimed on September 3 the text of a new constitution to liquidate the dictatorship which began January 6, 1929. In a simultaneous proclamation addressed "To My Dear People" he declared the task of the dictatorship was accomplished and made public his decision to place the government on the larger basis of direct collaboration with his subjects.

What does the change of regime mean? What has it brought about? What has the royal dictatorship accomplished and what are the prospects of the success of the constitutional regime?

The perusal of the new constitution yields incontrovertible evidence that the dictatorship in Jugoslavia is not at an end, no matter what the royal proclamation may say. The very fact that the new fundamental law was issued by the king and not by the elected representatives of the people belies its avowed object. The text of the constitution itself dispels the illusion of a constitutional regime.

Before the dictatorship Jugoslavia had a unicameral parliamentary system. The new constitution provides for a bicameral system composed of a chamber and a senate. However, since half the senate membership is appointed by the king and since the two chambers must act in accordance, the legislative power is virtually in the hands of the chief executive, since it is to be assumed that some of the elective members of the senate would do his bidding. The ministers, under the new law, are not responsible to parliament but to the king, who may appoint and dismiss them at his pleasure. The king may call and dissolve parliament in his discretion, and laws are promulgated in the form of royal decrees. The new constitution affords insufficient immunity to members of parliament, who may be "tried by ordinary courts without the previous consent of the senate or chamber of deputies for injuries, calumnies, and crimes."

Political, regional, and religious associations are outlawed in Jugoslavia, even if their aim is merely physical education. Free speech is limited. With the vagueness and the remarkable inaccuracy of expression which characterize it, the new constitution provides that "everyone is free, within the limits of the law, to express his view by word of mouth," leaving to the imagination whether the "view" may refer to the advantages of democracy or merely to such remote subjects as the criticism of Euclidian mathematics. The most reactionary provision of the constitution is the one establishing open voting for parliamentary elections, which reduces Jugoslavia to the level of her neighbor, Hungary, the other country in Europe where voting is open.

It is obvious that the constitution was meant to throw dust into the eyes of the world. This insincere return to the constitutional regime reveals the cause of the sudden change. A few months ago a French group of banks floated a loan of $42,000,000 in favor of Jugoslavia to cover the expenses of public improvements and the legal stabilization of the national currency, the dinar. It is obvious that the change of regime was meant to reassure timorous investors abroad that the fall of the dictatorship would not entail Jugoslavia's repudiation of her debt. Whisperers in Jugoslavia profess to know that the dramatic swiftness with which King Alfonso XIII cleared the decks in Spain for a parliamentary regime also had its share in King Alexander's conversion to parliamentarianism. The underground organization of the Black Hand has recently displayed lively activity in acts of terrorism and in the demand that the king should resign, leaving the field open to a sovereign parliament.

The main object of the dictatorship was to settle the question of Croatia, which toward the end of 1928 became the paramount issue of the kingdom. The wrath with which Croats and Serbs fought one another surpassed all previous exhibitions of uncontrolled hatred. Upon assuming dictatorial powers the king promised a decentralized state which would be a safeguard of the spiritual and territorial unity of Jugoslavia. Neither the dictatorship nor the new constitution has solved this great problem. The king and his advisers have resorted to the easiest expedient of ignoring the question altogether. They have wiped the Croatian question out of existence by blotting out the name of Croatia, the largest part of which has become the Dravska Banovina, one of the nine large administrative units of the kingdom. The court clique has committed one of the boldest falsifications of history by asserting in the proclamation of September 3 that the "entire Jugoslav nation has accepted the Jugoslav kingdom with all the warmth of its heart." The constitution settles the problems of the Bosnians, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Germans, Hungarians, and other nationalities inhabiting Jugoslavia as the dictatorship has already solved the problem of Macedonia. A short time ago an American newspaper published in Europe informed us in a special Jugoslav edition that the Vardarska Banovina was erroneously known abroad as Macedonia. Through the simple device of a change of name Macedonia and the Macedonian question no longer exist.

The most important innovation of the dictatorship was the slicing up of the country into nine large administrative units, the banovinas. This reform was supposed to accomplish the work of decentralization by making ethnic units more independent of Belgrade, the capital, and by giving the component parts of the kingdom greater opportunity to assert their national life. It is hardly necessary to say that the banovinas have accomplished just the opposite effect. In drawing the lines between the nine units ethnic frontiers were disregarded and more or less homogeneous nationalities were whittled away so as to dilute rebellious voters with right-thinking ones in the best tradition of American gerrymandering.

The new constitution makes a show of liberalism by setting up elective banovina councils, and in the same breath nullifies its own magnanimity by placing the council under the thumb of the ban, the highest administrative official, appointed by the central government in Belgrade. The ban can treat the decisions of the council in the most arbitrary

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manner and he himself is responsible to the central council of state. The bans at present in office are mostly Serbian officials, believers in a centralized state and opposed to national rights. Hence they lack the confidence and have earned the dislike of the population, except in the purely Serbian territories. Home rule would no longer satisfy the Croats. Although divided among themselves on many important points, they are unanimous in demanding a state of their own having no connection with that of the Serbs.

The Serbian centralists, in their fight against the Croats, are content to play one faction against the other and to institute a campaign of intimidation and terror. The agents of the Serb government have adopted the time-honored device of treating the Croatian separatists as dangerous Communists, anarchists, nihilists, and terrorists. Refractory Croatians are either shot at sight or taken to the frontier, told there to flee for their lives, and then shot in the back, on the pretense that they are fugitive criminals.

The protagonists of the dictatorship assert that the king's rule has done away with the chaos which resulted from the uniting of so many historical and racial entities into one state. They point to the codification of the penal- and civil-law systems, nearly completed, which will dispose of the anomaly of having six different codes in one country. They claim credit for a spirited fight against illiteracy and for the unification of the school system. They point to the law reducing the length of military service and increasing the soldiers' pay. They assert the dictatorship has merited well of the fatherland by its efforts to settle religious controversies. They claim credit for an employment situation which is better than that in most adjoining countries. They make much of the improvement in the appearance of Belgrade and of the ambitious work undertaken to open up the country's vast natural resources by building railways and roads and sinking mine shafts.

While opponents of the royal dictatorship cannot deny some of the improvements, they are emphatic in expressing the view that under a democratic-liberal regime Jugoslavia during the past two and a half years would have made even more rapid progress toward prosperity and internal harmony. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that at the beginning of what Belgrade likes to call a new constitutional regime Jugoslavia is confronted by a host of formidable problems which only skilful statesmanship and willingness to compromise can prevent from plunging the country into disaster.

Contributors to This Issue

HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY, formerly managing editor of *The Nation*, is now traveling in Russia.

ALEX SKELTON has been professor of political science in the University of Saskatchewan and is now economist for a large Canadian corporation.

R. R. KUCZYNSKI has recently published the second volume of "The Balance of Births and Deaths."

W. NORMAN BROWN is professor of Sanskrit at the University of Pennsylvania.

LIONEL TRILLING is at work on a critical study of Matthew Arnold.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN is the author of "Bitter Bierce."

EMIL LENGYEL is a Hungarian journalist now living in the United States.

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Author of "Investment Trusts Gone Wrong"
Economic Planning from the Point of View of Finance and Investments

LEWIS MUMFORD — November 23
Author of "The Story of Utopias"
The Possibilities of Human Life in a Planned Society

H. PARKER WILLIS — November 30
Author of "Federal Reserve System"
Economic Planning and the Competitive System

H. S. PERSON — December 7
Managing Director Taylor Society
Scientific Management and National Planning

ALGERNON LEE — December 14
Author of "The Essentials of Marx"
Economic Planning from the Socialist Point of View

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